

**INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND,
1857-1933
‘MORAL HOSPITALS’ OR ‘OPPRESSIVE INSTITUTIONS’?**

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ABSTRACT

Certified industrial schools provided industrial training and residential care for destitute and vagrant children, between 1857 and 1933 in England and between 1854 and 1933 in Scotland. The industrial schools' legislation was modified and extended and brought increasing involvement by the Government and, after 1870, by school boards. The introduction of compulsory education brought a new offence of truancy, which was dealt with by the setting up of special industrial schools called truant schools.

The founders of industrial schools came from all the main Christian denominations as well as from amongst members of the Jewish faith. Most schools were primarily intended for children of the same religious persuasion as the founder or founders but there was some overlapping and some schools catered for those of different faiths.

In addition to school teachers, the staff included trade teachers who provided training in skills which would help with the children's own personal care, such as shoemaking and tailoring, as well as trade skills like printing and woodwork. Other work such as wood chopping was undertaken to produce a financial return for the school.

On admission the children were, almost invariably, in a poor state of health and needed a better diet, medical care and physical exercise. The schools' regimes were not intended to be punitive but to provide a basis for their future lives. Religious instruction played an important part in the children's training and education and the provision of after-care was a primary element of the better schools.

This thesis investigates the work of industrial schools and the influence they had on the lives of the children who attended them. It also examines the question of whether the schools were the 'moral hospitals' or the 'oppressive institutions' referred to in its title.

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ABBREVIATIONS

COS	- Charity Organisation Society
IS	- Industrial Schools
JP	- Justice of the Peace
LCC	- London County Council
LEA	- Local Education Authority
LSB	- London School Board
MO	- Medical Officer
RS	- Reformatory Schools

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

WHAT IS AN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL?

Certified industrial schools were special residential schools set up to provide care and training for vagrant and destitute children, like those pictured below. The word ‘certified’ meant that the schools had been inspected and granted certificates by the Government, whilst the word ‘industrial’ indicated that these schools provided training and work for their children.

Figure 1.1

CROSSING SWEEPERS - TYPICAL ‘STREET ARABS’

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



The certified industrial schools examined in this thesis should not be confused with schools of industry, also sometimes referred to as industrial schools. These latter schools belonged to an earlier era and were seen as a means of supplying work for unemployed children. Initially established in the second half of the eighteenth century they found a new lease of life in the early period of the industrial revolution, taking in unemployed children of the non-manufacturing districts. These schools were founded voluntarily and from 1796 onwards were provided mainly by the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor. Manual work such as spinning, knitting and weaving took up most of the day; reading and religious education and occasionally, a little writing and arithmetic, occupied the remainder.

Certified reformatory and industrial schools had a broader basis and were introduced as a response to the perceived increase in juvenile delinquency of the early nineteenth century. The 1854 Youthful Offenders Act (the Reformatory Schools Act)

provided financial assistance and support for reformatory schools for convicted young offenders as an alternative to prison.¹ In the same year the first of the acts covering Scottish industrial schools was enacted.²

In 1857, following a campaign for the provision of schools for unconvicted, destitute, disorderly and vagrant children, the first of the English industrial schools acts became law.³ This act was intended to provide support for existing industrial schools and encouragement for the establishment of new ones. However its effect was limited and further bills were passed to define more precisely the types of children to be covered and establish the process by which they could be committed.

These additional bills were passed in 1860, 1861 and 1866.⁴ The 1860 Act transferred control of the schools from the Committee of Council on Education to the Home Office. The 1861 Act added the provision of accommodation to the list of criteria for an industrial school and redefined the type of child to be admitted. It also made provision for an allowance of 5/- a week per child to be made by the Home Office.⁵ Financial assistance had previously been given by the Committee of Council on Education. The 1866 Act consolidated previous legislation, clarified the procedure for setting up the schools and made local authorities responsible for providing money towards the cost of schools in their districts. It also brought together the Scottish and English industrial schools legislation.

Although it was generally agreed that industrial training was an important part of the work of industrial schools there was a wide range of opinion as to the type of training which should be given, a variety of motives for establishing the schools, and contrasting views as to the perceived benefits. For some people just keeping the children occupied was sufficient, for others the teaching of skills which would earn an income for the schools was the priority and for yet others the aim was to teach the children skills which would be useful to them as adults and prevent their resorting to crime.

Whilst reformatory and industrial schools were both a response to a similar problem, they were designed to cater for different groups of children. Reformatory schools were provided for criminal children whilst industrial schools were intended to prevent vulnerable children becoming criminal. After 1860 both schools were controlled and inspected through one government department, the Home Office. This joint control has led historians frequently to consider the schools together, as part of one reformatory school system, without taking into account any distinctions that might exist between them. The 1896 Departmental Committee included the comments 'that the children in both schools are, in the main of the same class; and, as a fact, there is no substantial difference in the discipline and regime beyond what could be accounted for by the difference of age'.

The report went on to say however:

At present in the minds of most people the reformatories and industrial schools are classed together; few know the difference, or indeed that there is any difference, and this is a great drawback to industrial schools. An entire distinction should be made, and it should be clearly understood that no industrial school child is criminal.⁶

In 1927 both schools voluntarily agreed to refer to themselves merely as schools 'approved' by the Home Office, rather than reformatory or industrial schools. In 1933 they merged under the Approved Schools Act.⁷

These Home Office schools were not alone in providing industrial training. The 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act had provided for the setting up of union workhouses where children were to be taught. Separate residential schools were established to take the children away from the workhouse atmosphere and provide industrial training and education.⁸ There was some similarity between this training and that provided in industrial schools and some Poor Law schools included the word 'industrial' in their titles. However children sent to these schools were not formally committed by the magistrates and their length of stay depended entirely on their family circumstances. There was some overlapping in the provision of care for vulnerable children, and whether children were sent to Poor Law schools or industrial schools could be influenced by whichever authority was brought in to deal with a family crisis.

The majority of industrial schools were for boys, but there were some girls' schools and one or two mixed ones. They catered mainly for children between the ages of eight and 15, although some schools took in younger children and a few catered purely for the youngest ones. As well as being committed to the schools by magistrates, children could be admitted voluntarily but did not then qualify for government financial support.

Exact figures for the total number of certified industrial schools over this period are difficult to establish but appear to be approximately 224 in England and Wales and about 50 in Scotland. Uncertainty as to exact numbers arises because some certified schools ran for just a short period, whilst others withdrew from certification or had their certificates withdrawn but continued to run outside the Home Office system. Other industrial schools were never certified by the Government and were not included in government statistics. The names of some schools changed and others merged or were taken over by other bodies.

Most industrial schools were founded during the second half of the nineteenth century. The number of schools started to decline at the beginning of the twentieth century and after the First World War nearly 100 closed. In 1933, together with

reformatory schools, the remaining 55 industrial schools were transferred into the new approved school system.

One of the main purposes of industrial schools was to prepare children for work, and the services were looked on as suitable careers. Ten industrial schools were run as ship schools, providing lessons in seamanship. Others were run as farm schools; teaching skills which would be useful for those emigrating to the colonies. It was also hoped that through teaching farmwork, the children remaining in Britain would find work in the countryside, rather than in the towns and cities.

Other schools were established under the umbrella of the industrial schools system. These were special schools mainly founded after 1880 when elementary education became compulsory. 'Truant schools' were short term, non-residential industrial schools designed to be of a deterrent nature and 'day industrial schools' were non-residential industrial schools introduced mainly in large cities where daily attendance was possible. Following legislation introduced in the 1890s to deal with the problems of handicapped children, other 'special' schools were founded for children with physical and mental handicaps. These last three groups of schools never formed more than a small proportion of the certified industrial schools and had their own characteristics.

PRIMARY SOURCES

Primary source material can be divided into two main groups, viz. material which was generated centrally and that which was generated locally.

Central Material

This material was created by the administering bodies; that is mainly government departments and official bodies such as national associations founded to represent the managers and superintendents, and the school boards. This central material is more likely to have survived than local material and be the more easy to locate.

In 1847 a House of Lords select committee reviewed the administration of the law relating to young offenders and transportation. The committee interviewed magistrates and prison officials and included questions regarding the effectiveness of the forms of punishment and the treatment given to young offenders.⁹

The House of Commons set up an inquiry to look into the treatment of criminal and destitute juveniles which reported in 1852.¹⁰ It had been established in response to demands made following a conference on juvenile delinquency, held in Birmingham in 1851. This conference, and a subsequent one in 1853, were instigated by Mary Carpenter, the daughter of a Bristol Unitarian Minister, and Matthew Davenport Hill, recorder of Birmingham and chaplain of the Redhill Reformatory School.¹¹ The reports of both conferences and the inquiry contained useful

information on institutions already provided in Scotland, in Europe and the USA, and the ideas and opinions of people involved in the care of destitute and delinquent children, as well as those who hoped to establish special schools in England.

Subsequent parliamentary papers included the minutes of evidence and reports of commissions and committees investigating the management of reformatory and industrial schools, as well as material on these schools which was included amongst other topics. In 1858 the Newcastle Commission was appointed to look at popular education and included material on industrial schools in its 1861 report.¹² In 1862 a return was made of all the industrial schools certified under the 1857 Act, containing the names and location of schools, the names of the children, their religious denominations, the names of the people who brought the cases forward, their grounds for so doing and the names of the examining magistrates.

Particularly useful material is contained in the 1884 Report of the Royal Commission appointed to inquire into reformatory and industrial schools.¹³ This report included details of the schools' history, their management, the type of training and education given, the way in which children were admitted, their disposal as well as discipline at the schools. A similar report was produced 12 years later by a departmental committee and included a detailed report on educational standards.¹⁴ However this report questioned the value of the removal of children from their home, and caused ruffled feathers amongst the managers of the schools by criticising the system of management and recommending changes. Some government inquiries related to specific incidents at individual schools. In 1894, following the death of a boy at St John's Industrial School, Walthamstow, a government inquiry investigated conditions at the school.¹⁵

In 1913 a departmental committee on reformatory and industrial schools reported after interviewing 63 witnesses and visiting every school.¹⁶ In 1927 another departmental committee reported on the treatment of young offenders.¹⁷ On this occasion it recommended the abolition of the terms 'industrial' and 'reformatory' and that schools should be described as those schools 'approved' by the Secretary of State. Ninety nine witnesses were examined and the report covered all aspects of child care with the amount of coverage of industrial and reformatory schools being quite small. This could be attributed to a decreasing importance placed on these schools as other methods of child care were introduced. During the period from 1922 to 1927 about 40 schools closed leaving just 58 industrial schools, of which 38 were for boys and 20 for girls. There were also two day industrial schools in Liverpool, a number of special schools and 16 auxiliary homes which provided accommodation for children after they had left the schools.¹⁸

Certification of the schools required inspection and the HMI reports from 1857 to 1911 included reports on every school.¹⁹ After that date the reports on individual schools were no longer published and from 1916 the regular annual reports were replaced by periodic reports by the Children's Branch.²⁰ The first appeared in 1923 and included information on the employment of children and the work of the probation service. The Children's Branch produced further reports in 1924, 1925, 1926 but not again until 1938.

The passing of the 1870 and 1876 Education Acts introduced another group of bodies into the industrial school system; the school boards replaced later by the local education authorities.²¹ The 1870 Act transferred from the prison authorities to the school boards power to contribute to the setting up and running of industrial schools, as well as the ability to establish their own schools. The 1876 Act imposed responsibility on school boards for initiating action for the care of children covered by the 1866 Industrial Schools Act as well as the power to appoint enforcement officers. It also provided for the establishment of day industrial and truant schools. Only seven English boards actually set up their own schools and most made arrangements to send children from their areas to independent industrial schools. However, school boards established all of the 16 truant schools and 23 of the 25 day industrial schools.

School boards, and after 1902, local education authorities (LEAs), became increasingly involved in running industrial schools, taking over previously independent schools when they floundered. In 1913, 22 of the 111 industrial schools were run by the LEAs²² but by 1923 this figure had risen to 74 of the 99 schools.²³ The London School Board (LSB) was a particularly active board. It established four residential industrial schools, two truant schools and three day industrial schools. In 1904 the Board reported that it had agreements to send children to 64 independent schools. The LSB set up a special industrial schools' committee which reported regularly to the Board on its own schools as well as on the schools to which it sent children. A large section of the Board's final report of 1904 covered the work of that committee.²⁴ In contrast the Liverpool School Board did not establish any residential schools of its own, but set up one truant school and four of the six Liverpool day industrial schools. Like London it appointed an industrial schools committee, whose minutes covered the running of the schools under its control.²⁵

Primary source material was also generated by associations interested in the reformatory and industrial school movement. The Reformatory and Refuge Union was founded in 1856 and published quarterly *Journals* from 1861 to 1899, after which they became called *Seeking and Saving*.²⁶ The *Journals* included news from schools, advice and information. The Union held conferences approximately every three years, at different locations throughout the country.²⁷ These conferences were initially

attended by just masters and matrons but were later extended to include managers. Papers on a range of aspects connected with running the schools were read and discussed. Delegates frequently visited nearby schools and the *Journal* included reports on these visits as well as the conferences themselves. The National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools was formed in 1881 and continued until 1898 when it amalgamated with the Reformatory and Refuge Union. In 1884 the National Association held a meeting of managers following the publication of the 1884 Report and submitted a series of resolutions based on the recommendations of the commissioners' report.²⁸

Local Material

This material was generated by the founders, managers, staff and children who attended the schools. Institutions kept records such as minutes of managers' meetings, financial papers, admission and disposal books as well as punishment books. They also published annual reports, magazines and appeal literature. Personal records of the experiences and opinions of individual members of staff and inmates are few in number and difficult to locate but some do exist. In his autobiography, Samuel Shaw wrote of his time at the Feltham Industrial School and the period he spent on a Welsh farm.²⁹ The biography of Morris Cohen, who attended the Hayes Industrial School, described his subsequent adventurous career.³⁰ Letters from old boys are sometimes included in the schools' magazines and reports. These are more likely to be letters that would reflect well on the schools, while material relating to boys who were unhappy at the schools is more difficult to find.

Since responsibility for the production, care and storage of the majority of this material depended on individual schools, its survival is rather patchy, but some has found its way to record offices and libraries. One example is the material relating to the Essex Industrial School, held at the Chelmsford Record Office and the Chelmsford library. Records of schools that formed part of a larger body, such as the school boards and religious bodies, are more likely to have survived than those where the schools were run by voluntary management. The records of some Roman Catholic schools are to be found amongst the papers of the religious orders who taught in them. The Sisters of Charity at Mill Hill, London have material relating to eight industrial schools with which they were involved. Other records have been absorbed into the archives of later institutions. Records of the Boys' Farm Home were located in the office of a charity which had taken over responsibility for administering the balance of the school's funds.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Industrial schools have not been a popular subject for research and little material has been published which confines itself to them. What has been written tends

to group the two Home Office schools together. The limited nature of the work could be due to the dispersed and restricted records of the schools, which make research difficult. Much of the work that has been done relies heavily on centrally generated material and that of school boards. Industrial and reformatory schools were administered by the Home Office and were not part of the main education system, which may have contributed to the limited interest shown by historians of education.

On the whole secondary literature has been researched at three levels. Works of a general nature on aspects of childhood such as education, philanthropy and social control, from time to time, referred to industrial schools but the schools formed just a small part of the topic. Industrial schools were covered in greater detail in work on topics such as the systems of the treatment of young offenders and the work of the school boards. In such studies the schools were usually linked together with reformatory schools, truant and day industrial schools, with little or no differentiation. The third level of research included more detailed studies of individual industrial schools or groups of specific schools, related by their location or type of management.

J.A. Stack in his article 'Interests and Ideas in 19th Century Social Policy, the mid-Victorian Reformatory School' examined the attitudes towards reformatory school children of the people involved with them, that is the managers and owners, police and magistrates and central government.³¹ He divided them into two groups, the 'realists' and the 'humanitarians' Stack included with the humanitarians people who viewed the children as victims, whilst the realists he saw as those more concerned with protecting society. In 1994 Stack also looked at the decline of the imprisonment of children in relation to reformatory and industrial schools.³² More recently George Behlmer in *Friends of the Family, The English Home and its Guardians 1850-1940*, published in 1998, included references to industrial schools but concluded that the schools 'failed to achieve their goal in a large part due to judicial sabotage'.³³

Writers who have researched the history of school boards generally only included a small section on their work with industrial schools. The boards' primary role was to ensure that all children were able to receive an elementary education and therefore they were involved mainly with running schools for truant children rather than the destitute children, for whom the residential schools were intended. However under the 1876 Act the boards were responsible for initiating the process of sending children, likely to come under the 1866 Act, to schools.

Stuart Maclure in his book *One hundred years of London Education 1870-1970* included a chapter on the London School Board's work with industrial schools. Maclure considered industrial schools were 'tough penal institutions', 'punitive and retributive in conception'. He attributed the same characteristics to all

schools and did not differentiate between the three types of industrial schools when coming to his conclusions.³⁴

In 1978 Bernard Elliott wrote 'School Boards and Industrial Schools - A neglected aspect of the 1870 Education Act'.³⁵ However he was mistaken about the number of schools and described the industrial school system as 'falling out of favour' in 1878. In fact the numbers of children being committed to these schools, as well as the numbers of actual schools, were growing until at least the end of the nineteenth century. Elliott concluded that the boards' role was comparatively insignificant. He did not take into account the influence the boards had through their provision of grants and their right to inspect schools. It was the Leeds School Board that requested an inquiry into the Shibden Industrial School in 1884.³⁶ Day industrial schools received further coverage in F.B. Harris' two theses 'Liverpool School Board Day Industrial Schools' and 'The School Board Day Industrial Schools'.³⁷ These theses are detailed and accurate and give a more soundly based picture of the work of the boards in relation to this type of industrial school.

Stephanie Heard wrote a thesis on 'Attendance, Truancy and the Correction of the Young Offender in Walthamstow 1880-1918' based on the North London Truant School and the Fyfield Truant School.³⁸ Since the ethos behind the setting up of truant schools was very different to that of the residential schools, any conclusions based on the examination of the former schools should not be applied to the latter.

Jane Martin's article 'Women and the Industrial Schools' was directed at the role played by women in relation to the LSB and looked at just two schools that both experienced criticism.³⁹ The first was St Paul's Industrial School, a private church school owned by the chairman of the LSB, taking only children sent by that body, and the second was Upton House, a LSB truant school. The former was the subject of an inquiry in 1881 into excessive punishment and was closed. The latter was severely criticised in 1879, rebuilt in 1885 and continued to operate until 1925.

Detailed studies based purely on the industrial school movement itself have not been undertaken. However a comprehensive study of both reformatory and industrial schools was written in 1913 by Mary Barnett.⁴⁰ This study benefited from the fact that she was writing when the schools were still operational, so she was able to visit between 20 and 30 schools and attend courts. She gave a picture of schools with a range of standards, some of which were serving their purpose reasonably well, whilst others had major problems.

In 1981 Margaret May wrote a dissertation on the reformatory and industrial school movement.⁴¹ She described the background behind the passing of the legislation and the early years of the schools. Unfortunately her period of study

stopped ten years after the passing of the 1870 Education Act and therefore only covered approximately a third of the period that the schools operated.

A similar, but less detailed, dissertation was produced in 1988 by M. Durrant on 'The Schooling and Treatment of Young Offenders in England 1780-1870.' This traced changing attitudes towards juvenile offenders and their treatment prior to the introduction of reformatory and industrial schools, both in England and elsewhere. No actual schools or local sources were examined and the conclusions made in the final chapter were based purely on centrally generated material.⁴²

In 1986 Elizabeth Hartley wrote 'Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency; Aspects of the English Reformatory and Industrial School Movement in the 19th Century'. Hartley surveyed work published mainly in America in the 1970s, which revised attitudes towards the merits of institutional treatment and suggested that the institutions could themselves aggravate the problem.⁴³ Her aim was provide a 'more comprehensive reconstruction of the ideas and practices involved in the treatment of deviant children' than had previously been written.⁴⁴

In 1981 Stephen Humphries wrote *Hooligans or Rebels*, based on his DPhil thesis 'The Resistance of Working-Class Youth to Control 1889-1939'.⁴⁵ He did not deal with industrial schools independently from other schools and appears to have had preconceived ideas with regard to middle-class society's oppression of the working classes and the latter's reaction to it.

More recently, largely gender based work has been done by Michelle Cale, who studied the role of women in the industrial and reformatory school movement and the perception of sexual danger for girls as a criteria for committing girls to these schools.⁴⁶ Cale based her conclusions on the evidence of the records of the 'Waifs' and Strays' Society, which established girls industrial schools specialising in admitting children under the 1880 Act. She examined the records of 343 of the 356 girls committed to the care of the society between 1881 and 1901. Since this represented a very small proportion of the total number of girls sent to industrial schools and because of the Society's specialisation, these girls may not necessarily be typical.

J.S. Hurt has written extensively on educational matters and his book *Outside the Mainstream* described the industrial schools' treatment of children who fell outside the elementary school system. Chapter 3 covered the plight of 'Vagrant and Delinquent Children'.⁴⁷ In his article, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools before 1933', he suggested that the 'punitive features such as the silent system, solitary confinement, a meagre diet, the treadmill and hard and monotonous labour...provided exemplars for the later reformatory, industrial and truant schools'. Whilst he recognised 'residential truant schools were amongst the most repressive and punitive

of all reformatory and industrial schools' he appears to have had a very low opinion of the whole system.⁴⁸

Studies of individual schools have been undertaken, including G.A.T. Lee's *A History of Feltham Industrial School* which related the story of this particularly large school run first by the Middlesex magistrates and subsequently by the London County Council (LCC).⁴⁹ David Thomas has written articles on a number of industrial schools including one in Chester, four in the north east, one in Gateshead and another in Norfolk.⁵⁰ Thomas' parents, grandfather and uncle taught in ragged and industrial schools and consequently he has a personal knowledge of the running of the schools. He has compiled an extensive list of the schools certified by the Home Office.⁵¹ There is also my own dissertation on the Boys' Farm Home, East Barnet, which makes use of a range of local sources not available for all schools.⁵² However this school was a particularly good one and may not necessarily be typical of all such schools.

A dissertation by A.M. Black on 'Roman Catholic Industrial Schools in Liverpool' provided an insight into the difficulties and achievements of the eight industrial schools with which the Roman Catholic Church was involved in Liverpool. She described the 'liberal and active efforts' made by the Roman Catholic community in Liverpool together with their mistakes and failures.⁵³

Opinions as to the success of industrial schools have differed widely. Margaret May seems to have felt the schools were of some value. Referring to both types of school in an article published in *Victorian Studies* in 1973, she stated 'The Reformatory School Movement has been interpreted simply as the product of religious concern and generous humanitarianism. However the segregation of child and adult offenders emanated from more complex motives.' and 'There was general agreement on the main ingredients of reformation. Schools were to act as moral hospitals and provide corrective training to which children, as wards of state and victims of neglect rather than fully responsible law-breakers, were entitled.'⁵⁴ A.M. Black concluded 'the industrial school may not have been the ideal solution but it was certainly better than the alternatives offered in its day'.⁵⁵

In contrast, Stephen Humphries wrote in his book:

the experiences of children committed to orphanages were closely similar to the experiences of delinquent and destitute young people who were incarcerated in the complex web of reformatory institutions, such as truant schools, industrial schools, approved schools and Borstal, that developed from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century onwards. For whether a working-class child was an orphan, a vagrant, a truant, a rebel at home or school or a thief the assumption was often made by magistrates and officials that he or she was the offspring of a degenerate and deprived class, requiring intensive disciplinary treatment in a reformatory.⁵⁶

A similar view was held by J.S. Hurt, who wrote in *History of Education* in 1984, of industrial schools:

Yet the regime for all these children corresponded closely to that of a reformatory school, despite the earlier wish of some that the industrial school should be a less rigorous alternative. In common with the workhouse child, inmates underwent a disciplined and oppressive routine of hard work, severe punishment, austere living conditions, and a spartan diet to eradicate the alleged defects of their characters, the evil influence of their previous environment, and the sins of their fathers.⁵⁷

Hurt concluded that management committees themselves were generally more interested in the economic running of their schools rather than the rehabilitation of the children and that their record of industrial training, the main objective of which was to maximise profit, was equally poor.

On the other hand David Thomas, whilst acknowledging all was not perfect in the schools, considered that the denigratory tone of some of the writers was biased. He recollected his parents talking about life in the former Chester Industrial School which made it clear that the master and matron acted as real parents and treated industrial school children as a large family, a view which he affirmed is backed up in the annual reports of that school and by the visits of past inmates.

The range of opinions that the social historians referred to above held, may be due to the use of different material or its interpretation. It is also possible that each was correct in regard to the schools they examined but not to industrial schools generally. If the schools did in fact vary considerably and an insufficient range of schools were examined, this would limit the validity of any conclusions. There could also have been a variation in the standards that existed in the schools over a period of time, or the public's expectations of those standards and standards outside the schools.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The aim of this thesis is to establish the character and role of certified industrial schools, generally, individually and over the 76 years they operated. It covers questions such as whether the schools were successful, if they provided a new channel for softening attitudes towards problem children and the effect that committal to such schools had on the lives of the children involved. It also examines the 'entire distinction' between industrial and reformatory schools that, according to the 1896 Report,⁵⁸ needed to be made, together with any variations that might occur within the industrial school movement from school to school or region to region. In addition to bringing out the different characteristics of the two types of schools, this thesis relates

the results of this work to the wider picture of changing attitudes to childhood and the education and expectations of ordinary children outside the Home Office system.

The background and reasoning behind the setting up of industrial schools together with the involvement of the Government is established in Chapter II. Then follows an examination of the people involved in the management and instruction of the schools and of the children themselves. The type of industrial training and education that was provided is then explored together with the children's health, welfare and control. Finally what happened to the children once they had left the schools and the effect having attending an industrial school had on the children's lives is studied.

The conclusion of this thesis is based on the examination of a wider range of sources than those that appear to have been used previously. Particularly useful sources of primary material have been located concerning the London Boys' Home and the Boys' Farm Home, East Barnet and use has been made of oral and written evidence of people with personal memories of industrial schools. This material is used in establishing the success or otherwise of industrial schools both from the viewpoint of society, relieving it of the problem of juvenile delinquency, and that of the children themselves in changing their lifestyles. Whilst the schools selected for detailed examination in this thesis were in England many of the statistics and some of the interpretations apply to Britain as a whole.

Notes

¹An Act for the Better Care and Reformation of Young Offenders in Great Britain (Reformatory Schools Act 1854) - Vic 17 & 18 Cap LXXXVI

²An Act to render Reformatory and Industrial Schools more available for the benefit of Vagrant Children (Dunlop's Act 1854) - Vic 17 & 18 Cap LXXIV

³An Act to make better Provision for the Care and Education of vagrant, destitute, and disorderly Children and for the Extension of Industrial Schools (Industrial Schools Act 1857) - Vic 20 & 21 Cap XLVIII

⁴The Industrial Schools Act (1860) - Vic 23 & 24 Cap CVIII; An Act for amending and consolidating the Law relating to Industrial Schools (Industrial Schools Amendment Act 1861) - Vic 24 & 25 Cap CXIII; The Industrial Schools Amendment Act (1866) - Vic 29 & 30 Cap CXVIII

⁵Detailed in Chapter III p. 51

⁶Departmental Committee on Reformatory & Industrial Schools - PP 1896 (8204) XLV p. 15

⁷Children and Young Persons Act (The Approved Schools Act 1933) - Geo 5 23 & 24 Cap XII

⁸The Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) - Will 4 & 5 Cap LXXVI

⁹Select Committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, especially respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation - PP 1847 (447, 534) VII

¹⁰Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles - PP 1852 (515) VII

¹¹Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on the subject of Preventive Schools held at Birmingham on the 9th and 10th December, 1851 (London 1851); Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Subject of Juvenile Delinquency and Preventive Reformatory Schools held at Birmingham on December 20th, 1853 (London 1854)

¹²Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England - PP 1861 (2974-I-VI) XXXI

¹³Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1884 (3876) XLV.I

¹⁴Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 (8204) XLV

¹⁵Report of the Commissioner appointed by the Secretary of State on 24 Sept 1894 to inquire into the allegations made regarding the treatment of children in the St John's Industrial School for RC Boys at Walthamstow - PP 1895 (107) LXXX

¹⁶Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838) XXXIX

¹⁷Departmental Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders - PP 1927 (2831)

XII

¹⁸Ibid. p. 70

¹⁹See the Reports of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools listed in bibliography

²⁰1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (1923); 2nd Report (1924); 3rd Report (1925); 4th Report (1928); 5th Report (1938)

²¹The Elementary Education Act (1870) - Vic 33 & 34 Cap LXXV; The Elementary Education Act (1876) - Vic 39 & 40 Cap LXXIX

²²Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838, 6839) XXXIX pp. 4,5

²³1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch of the Home Office (1923) p. 22

²⁴Final Report of the School Board for London 1870-1904 (London 1904)

²⁵Minutes of the Liverpool School Board Industrial Schools Committee (1879-1903)

²⁶The Reformatory and Refuge Union *Journal* vol. 1-13 (London 1861-1899); *Seeking and Saving* vol. 14 (London 1900)

²⁷These were reported in the *Journal* itself as well as the local press

²⁸The National Association of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools Resolutions passed at a representative meeting of the Managers at Westminster Palace Hotel on Wednesday February 20th 1884

²⁹Samuel Shaw, *Guttersnipe* (London 1946)

³⁰C. Drage, *Two Gun Cohen* (London 1954)

³¹J.E. Stack, 'Interests and ideas in 19th Century policy - the mid-Victorian Reformatory School' *Journal of Educational Administration & History* 1982 vol. XIV no. 1 pp. 36-45

³²J.E. Stack, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the decline of child imprisonment in mid-Victorian England and Wales' *History of Education* 1994 vol. 23 no. 1 pp 59-73

³³George Behlmer, *Friends of the Family, the English Home and its Guardians 1850-1940* (Stamford, USA 1998) p. 237

³⁴Stuart Maclure, *One Hundred Years of London Education 1870-1970* (London 1970)

³⁵Bernard Elliott, 'School Boards and Industrial Schools, a neglected aspect of the 1870 Education Act' *Education Society Bulletin* 1978 no. 22 p. 38

³⁶Report of the Certified Industrial Schools Committee of the Leeds School Board (Leeds Central Library)

³⁷F.B. Harris, 'Liverpool Day Industrial Schools' MEd (Liverpool 1977) & 'School Board Day Industrial Schools' PhD (Liverpool 1987)

³⁸Stephanie Heard, 'Attendance, Truancy and the Correction of the Young Offender

in Walthamstow 1880-1918' MA (Kings College London 1987)

³⁹Jane Martin, 'Hard-headed and Large Hearted Women of the Industrial School 1870-1885' *History of Education* 1991 vol. 20 no. 3 pp. 187-201

⁴⁰Mary C. Barnett, *Young Delinquents - A Study of Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (London 1913)

⁴¹M.R. May, 'A child's punishment for a child's crime' MA (London 1980)

⁴²M. Durrant, 'The Schooling and Treatment of Young Offenders in England 1780-1870' MEd (London 1988)

⁴³E. Hartley, 'Institutional Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency; Aspects of the English Reformatory and Industrial School Movement in the 19th Century' PhD (Leicester 1986) pp. 4, 5, citing works including A.M. Platt, *The Child Savers: the Invention of Delinquency* (Chicago 1996); S.L. Schlossman and S. Wallach, 'The Crime of Precocious Sexuality: Female Juvenile Delinquency in the Progressive Era; *Harvard Educational Review* vol. 48 no. 1 (1978); S.L. Schlossman, *Love and the American Delinquent: the Theory and Practice of 'Progressive' Juvenile Justice 1825-1920* (Chicago 1977); S.E. Houston, 'Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: a Canadian Experience' *History of Education Quarterly*, Fall (1972)

⁴⁴*Ibid.* pp. 13, 14

⁴⁵Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels* (Oxford 1981)

⁴⁶Michelle Cale, 'Working for God? Staffing the Victorian reformatory and industrial school system' *History of Education* 1992 vol. 21 no. 2 and 'Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger in the Victorian Reformatory System' *History* 78 1993

⁴⁷J.S. Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream* (London 1988)

⁴⁸J.S. Hurt, 'Reformatory and industrial schools before 1933' *History of Education* 1983 vol. 13 no. 4

⁴⁹G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c.1979)

⁵⁰David H. Thomas, 'The Chester Industrial School, 1863-1908' *Journal of Educational Administration & History* 1981 vol. XIII no. 2; 'Four Industrial Schools in the North-east of England' *Durham County Local History Bulletin* 1981 no. 26 May and 'The Home Office Certified Schools in Norfolk 1853-1933' *Norfolk Archaeology* 1983 vol. XXXVIII Part II; 'The Abbot Memorial Industrial School, Gateshead; *Durham County Local History Bulletin* 1984 no. 32 May

⁵¹D.H. Thomas, *Reformatory and Industrial Schools - An annotated list of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools certified by the Home Office 1854-1933* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1986)

⁵²Gillian Gear, 'Certified Industrial Schools 1857-1933 - with particular reference to Church Farm Industrial School' MA (Middlesex 1985)

⁵³A.M. Black 'The Background and development of Industrial Schools for Roman

Catholic children in Liverpool during the 19th Century' MEd (Liverpool 1975)

⁵⁴M.R. May, 'Innocence and Experience' *Victorian Studies* 1973 XVII no. 1 Sept p.8

⁵⁵A.M. Black, 'The Background and development of Industrial Schools for Roman Catholic children in Liverpool during the 19th Century' MEd (Liverpool 1975)

⁵⁶Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels* (Oxford 1981) p. 211

⁵⁷J.S. Hurt, 'Reformatory and industrial schools before 1933' *History of Education* 1984 vol. 13 no. 4 p. 49

⁵⁸See page 11

CHAPTER II

THE EVOLUTION OF INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS 1800-1857

THE BACKGROUND

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the predominant principle in the treatment of young offenders was that of punishment. Little or no thought was given to ways of effecting reformation, for the act of punishment itself was intended to deter future offending. This took the form of whipping, imprisonment, transportation and even capital punishment.

Little or no allowance was made for the age of the offender. Children and adults, whose crimes ranged considerably in their degree of seriousness, were imprisoned together, and frequently children were sentenced for short periods for offences which we would now consider to be too minor to warrant punishment. Children aged 14 and over were treated in exactly the same way as adults, as were those children aged between seven and 14 who were considered to be capable of understanding the difference between right and wrong. It was only children under the age of seven who were held not to be capable of criminal offences.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw a growing fear of increasing crime, particularly juvenile crime. The French Revolution had made the British aristocracy aware of its vulnerability, and riots and unrest in England in the 1830s emphasised the dangers of an unruly population. Large numbers of country people, unable to find employment on the land, migrated to the towns and cities. The simple tasks suitable for young children that had been available in the countryside, such as bird scaring and stone picking, were not to be found in the towns, reducing the ability of children to supplement the family income. Many children resorted to living by their wits on the streets, which inevitably led to their spending short but repeated periods of time in prison.

It was in Britain's towns and cities that the problem of street children was most noticeable and large numbers of children found their way into prison. In 1816, when London's total population was 2.5 million, 1,500 of those in prison were aged under 17 and some were as young as eight or nine years old.¹ In 1819, in his evidence to the House of Lords, the Revd H.S. Cotton, chaplain of Newgate prison, reported that the number of prisoners had increased by one third over the previous four years, that half the prisoners were aged under 20 and the numbers of those from nine to 15 years of age were 'wonderfully increased'.²

Liverpool had particular problems, receiving as it had a vast number of poor Irish immigrants due to the potato famine. According to the Revd T. Carter, chaplain of the Liverpool Gaol, commitments in 1850 were 9,500, of whom 1,100 were of

juvenile offenders under the age of 16 and the proportion of those who were being recommitted was a little under 70 per cent.³ This repeated committal to prison demonstrated the ineffectiveness of that system of punishment. Improvements were introduced for children held in prison and a variety of experimental institutions were established to attempt to deal with the newly discovered phenomenon of juvenile delinquency. These initiatives were largely voluntary and reflected their founders' ideas as to the most effective forms of treatment. Their experiences provided evidence for the public debate that eventually led to an acceptance of the need for government involvement and the passing of legislation in 1857, after a number of abortive attempts to introduce bills over the previous 10 years.

This chapter looks at how society tried to introduce ways of dealing with the problem of destitute and delinquent children. It traces how the experience of these initiatives brought about a change in attitudes and led to a more organised approach involving government finance and control, the industrial school system.

EARLY INITIATIVES

Prisons

The early part of the nineteenth century saw a gradual movement away from treating child and adult offenders in the same way. The 1837 Law Commission recommended that a distinction be made between adults and those under 16 convicted of larceny.⁴ In Newgate prison a school had already been introduced in 1814 and a few boys under 16 were selected and given four hours schooling a day. In 1819, however, the school's effectiveness was questioned in evidence to the House of Lords commission on London prisons, when the Revd H.S. Cotton pointed out the master was himself a convict. Cotton reported to the commission that the boys were kept separately from the men and given two hours in the exercise yards each day whilst the men were locked up.⁵ When, in 1834, the Tothill Fields Bridewell was rebuilt, a separate section was set up for boys and in 1850 it was decided to restrict admission to women prisoners and boys under 17 and to send the men to Coldbath Fields.⁶

The Hulks

As well as prisons, ships hulks were used to house all types of convicts. Initially, once again all prisoners were kept together but segregation of prisoners by the seriousness of their crime was introduced by John Henry Capper, superintendent of the hulks from 1814 to 1847. In 1818 there was a move towards the special treatment of young offenders when Chaplain Price, of the hulk the *Retribution*, suggested that young convicts should be separated from the adults and that a frigate be divided up with living quarters, an area for a school and an area for industrial training. A special prison hulk for juveniles, called the *Bellerophon*, was set up by the Government in 1823 at Sheerness and 320 boys were held there, but in 1825 the hulk

was broken up and the boys transferred to another hulk, the *Euryalus* at Chatham. The boys were still not divided into groups and with the numbers growing to 383 the *Euryalus* became very overcrowded.

These factors limited the chances of reforming the boys and in 1827 Chaplain Price reported to Capper that he felt it was impossible to reform the juvenile prisoners permanently unless they were 'separated and classified'. Price's attempts to improve the system were ignored and he was transferred back to the *Retribution* at Sheerness and the Revd Henry John Davies was appointed in his place. In 1957 W. Branch Johnson suggested that Davies understood what was required of him sufficiently well not to 'waste time on imperfections', and believed that the discipline exercised on board the *Euryalus* would eventually prove effective.⁷ Of the 4,000 convicts on board hulks, 300 were boys under 16 held on the *Euryalus*.⁸

In 1829 John Wade, the author, recognised in his treatise on the police and crime in London, that the hulks were not succeeding in reforming boys and wrote that despite being taught trades, sobriety and religion, as well as being separated from older criminals, once the boys were discharged they returned to their 'former scenes of iniquity and crime'.⁹ Although the use of hulks as alternatives to prison did not appear to have been successful, the principle of using ships to house young offenders and destitute boys continued under the reformatory and industrial school legislation, with three reformatory ships and seven industrial school ships being certified by the Home Office between 1856 and 1890.

Parkhurst

In response to growing criticism of the prison system a House of Lords select committee was set up in 1835 to investigate the conditions in gaols and houses of correction. This committee recommended the establishment of a prison especially for juveniles and in 1838 the Parkhurst Act was enacted.¹⁰ This act enabled a prison to be founded at Parkhurst in the Isle of Wight that initially admitted both boys and girls sentenced to transportation or imprisonment, but later only took boys. The Parkhurst authorities recognised the need to divide the children into groups and three were formed. The first was a 'probationary' group where the child could be assessed. The second group was the 'ordinary' group which tended to have the younger children and where they were not subject to corporal punishment. The third group was for older and more difficult children and was called the 'refractory class'. Here the regime was much tougher and, if these children proved too difficult to cope with, they could be sent back to ordinary prisons.¹¹

Parkhurst's regime was still intended to be a deterrent but also one that included reformation through the inclusion of moral, religious and industrial training. However it relied heavily on traditional prison methods and was found to be

ineffective in reforming those sent there. In 1864 it closed after its role has been taken over by the certified reformatory schools introduced after 1854.

Refuges

Refuges were as their name suggests, places of refuge. Mainly located in the poorest parts of large towns and cities, they provided care for adults, children or both. In London in 1804 the 'Refuge for the Destitute' was set up; that for young women was in Hackney Road and for young men in Hoxton. This refuge admitted young discharged prisoners with the aim of reforming them through industrial training. Financial difficulties forced the refuge to close in 1832 but by then it had helped over 4,000 children.¹² In 1822 a similar institution, called Tothill Fields Asylum, for discharged women prisoners had been set up in Westminster, by Caroline Neave. She was a member of the British Ladies' Society Committee and had acted with the encouragement of Elizabeth Fry, the prison reformer. In 1824 the British Ladies' Society opened a 'School of Discipline' in Chelsea, to train 'to orderly and virtuous habits...the vicious and neglected little girls so numerous in London, early hardened in crime'.¹³

The need for improvements within prisons and for the care and training of ex-prisoners was beginning to be recognised. The Marquis of Lansdowne in a speech to the Prince Regent in June 1818 referred to Elizabeth Fry's work and said, 'how much good persons similarly disposed might effect in other prisons, were the mechanism...of those places of confinement better adapted to the purposes of reformation'.¹⁴ Some refuges were part of a wider organisation. The Field Lane Institution in Farringdon began in 1841 with a Sabbath school which developed into a ragged school. In 1847 it had a programme of evening classes for boys and girls and parents' meetings on Mondays, and in 1851 it also provided a refuge and was known as the Field Lane Ragged School and Refuge.

The work of refuges was severely hampered by a lack of funds. It was generally only those which had the support of a larger organisation or adapted their work to qualify for government support, that survived for any length of time.

Reformatory Schools

The Government was beginning to recognise the value of work done by the voluntary sector, and Clause II of the Parkhurst Act offered a conditional discharge to selected convicted children so that they could be sent to voluntary institutions such as the Redhill Reformatory School in Surrey, run by the Philanthropic Society. This school was an early attempt to prevent young offenders from becoming adult criminals and was held up to those interested in the reformatory school movement as an example of a successful school.

Redhill had been founded in 1788 as a development of the Marine Society (which apprenticed destitute and delinquent boys to the Navy) with Robert Young as treasurer and the Duke of Leeds as president. Cottages in Hackney were used to house convicts' children as well as vagrant and destitute children. In 1790 the name of 'the Philanthropic Society' was adopted and the school was transferred to St George's Fields, London, where the boys were treated as apprentices. In 1849, in partnership with the Government, the school moved to Redhill in Surrey, where a farm school was set up. The training at the farm was aimed at preparing the boys for life in the colonies since emigration was felt to be the ideal way of giving the boys a fresh start in life as well as removing potential problems. The intention was still to punish the boys but a growing emphasis was put on reformation.¹⁵ At Redhill the boys were brought up in family groups. They were taught the bible and with 'a discipline which appeals to their common sense and their affections, we have retained them without constraint, or anything which would remind them of prison'.¹⁶ They mainly came from prisons such as the Westminster Bridewell (Tothill Fields), Parkhurst and Millbank. Sydney Turner, the chaplain-superintendent from 1840 to 1857, became the first government inspector of reformatory schools and from 1860, of industrial schools.

Redhill continued to operate as a reformatory school until it became an approved school under the 1933 Approved Schools Act. In 1988 the Philanthropic Community finally closed, but a charity was set up to provide for the 'supervision, maintenance, education and employment of children and young persons under the age of 21 who are in need of moral guidance and who are in danger of becoming offenders or who have already offended' and which continues its work today.¹⁷

Ragged Schools

In the early part of the nineteenth century it was becoming increasingly evident that elementary schools, such as the National schools and the British and Foreign schools, were failing to cater for the poorest and most deprived children. Special schools called 'ragged schools' were set up for these children. These schools were often started by Sunday school teachers and began by opening on Sundays and in the evenings, providing lessons, food and industrial work. It was soon realised that the children needed day-time care and the schools were extended to weekdays. The idea of ragged schools spread. When the Ragged School Union was founded in 1844 there were 20 schools with 2,000 pupils and 200 voluntary teachers and by 1849 the numbers had grown to 82 ragged schools with 8,000 pupils and with 124 paid and 929 voluntary teachers.¹⁸

Charles Dickens took an active interest in the ragged school movement and reported a visit he made to the Field Lane Ragged School as follows:

The number of houseless creatures who resorted to it, and who were necessarily turned out when it closed, to hide where they could in heaps of moral and physical pollution filled the managers with pity. To relieve some of the more constant and deserving scholars, they rented a wretched house, where a few common beds - a dozen or dozen and a half perhaps - were made upon the floors. This was the Ragged School Dormitory; and when I found the School in Farringdon Street, I found the Dormitory in a court hard by, which in the time of the Cholera had acquired a dismal fame. The Dormitory was, in all respects, save as a small beginning, a very discouraging Institution. The air was bad; the dark and ruinous building, with its small close rooms, was quite unsuited to the purpose; and a general supervision of the scattered sleepers was impossible.¹⁹

Industrial training had been introduced by the time of Dickens' next visit. The Field Lane Ragged School was taken over by the LSB in 1870 and two certified industrial schools were established by the Institute in 1871. These moved to Hampstead where the girls' school ran until 1901 and the boys' school until 1931.²⁰

Ragged schools were frequently cramped and overcrowded. They were usually excluded from assistance from the Committee of Council on Education because of their poor teaching standards and relied almost entirely on insufficient voluntary aid. One of their major difficulties was getting the children to attend regularly. Another was the problem of children who had no proper homes, and although Scottish schools often provided accommodation, in England this was not generally the case. A further difficulty was that the ragged schools were unable to cope with the huge numbers of children needing help; of whom about only a third actually attended the schools. However the schools did demonstrate the type of care and training which might be used effectively, and highlighted some of the problems of providing schools. Much of this experience was useful when industrial schools were founded and several ragged schools evolved into industrial schools. The Stockport Ragged School did so in 1866. Other schools used both names in their titles such as the Liverpool Industrial Ragged School and the Chester Ragged and Industrial School.

Poor Law or District Schools

As explained in Chapter I, the 1834 Poor Law Reform Act included provision for the education and training of children in workhouses. From 1844 unions could establish district schools sited away from the workhouse itself. These schools ran alongside industrial schools but over a longer period i.e. from 1844 until 1937. The schools were much larger than most industrial schools; often with a thousand children on one site, with one section for boys and another for girls. Like industrial schools, Poor Law schools provided industrial training and education. They also often had bands, sent boys into the services and trained girls for domestic work. District

schools, however, had no legal power of detention and the time that children spent at the schools could be short, long or broken as their family circumstances changed, which hampered their ability to train children for work. In 1903 the Bethnal Green Board of Guardians reported that 'unless the lads are retained for several years' this 'rendered the Poor Law system of teaching boys a trade in the [work]shops almost useless'.²¹

INFLUENCES FROM OUTSIDE ENGLAND

As well as studying English institutions, reformers looked elsewhere to see how other countries dealt with the problem of destitute and delinquent children. Circumstances were not quite the same abroad, however, for whilst England had to wait until 1870 for legislation to begin the process of making schooling available for all children, both France and Germany had done so much earlier, by 1841.

Mary Carpenter, the daughter of Lant Carpenter, Unitarian minister of the Lewins Mead Meeting in Bristol was strongly influenced by the work and philosophy of child reclamation of Joseph Tuckerman. He was a minister from Boston, USA, who had stayed with the Carpenter family during the winter of 1833/4. He had devoted much of his time to working with the American city poor, particularly children, and as a result of his efforts a farm school was established at Thompson's Island in Massachusetts Bay for a hundred destitute boys. In 1839 Tuckermann produced a book with a selection of his annual reports called *Christian Service to the Poor in the Cities*.²²

In 1848 Mary visited Mettray in France, where a special school had been founded in 1839. It was set up by a M. Demetz and the Marquis de Breteignolles de Courteilles, who gave land near Tours. The boys were selected from French prisons, to which they could be returned if they were too troublesome. The home was run in small family groups, each group had a member of staff nominated as a 'father' and one older pupil nominated by the boys as an 'elder brother'. The aim, according to Matthew Davenport Hill, was to make honest men through teaching self-control and self-support. By 1851 there were 41 special schools established in France but Mettray was by far the most famous.²³

The most widely known special school in Germany was called the Rauhe Haus and it was following a visit there that Mary, together with a Russell Scott of Bath, established a mixed agricultural reformatory near Kingswood, Bristol in 1852. Mary travelled widely to visit these foreign schools but was reluctant to visit Parkhurst of which she was highly critical. However, she was eventually persuaded to do so, after which her comments were less harsh.

Scotland influenced the English industrial school system. In 1931 Cyril Burt wrote in his book *The Young Delinquent* that he considered the idea of industrial

schools had originated in Scotland in about 1850.²⁴ Sheriff Watson had founded a day school, the Aberdeen Industrial School, which supplied food, training and instruction, in 1841. Meals and training were provided in return for satisfactory attendance. The legal structure to enforce this attendance, however, was lacking. The frustrated local authorities took the matter into their own hands by issuing instructions to the police to take all vagrant children into custody and as a result on a Monday in May 1845, 75 boys and girls were taken to the industrial school where they were bathed and fed. They were sent home at the end of the day but advised to return at eight next morning for breakfast, which the large majority did.²⁵

The autobiographies of some of the children who attended the Aberdeen schools in the 1850s give the impression that the schools were very much like the English ragged schools, the instruction consisted of subjects such as reading, writing, history, geography as well as teaching the children to look after and make their own clothes. There does not seem to have been any industrial training but some of the boys' work consisted of picking oakum and the older children were responsible for cleaning the school-room. The school was open six days a week and the day lasted from 8.00 a.m. until 6.00 p.m. with a half day on Saturdays. Three meals a day were provided. On Sundays the children attended church and had prayers on other mornings. Those children who had homes returned to them at night whilst the others were lodged out.²⁶

It was usual in Scotland for magistrates to commit children to ragged and industrial schools, despite the lack of the legal structure to do this. Glasgow also had an industrial school, which in 1851 housed 200 children, and in the year from March 1848, 379 children attended the Edinburgh Original Ragged or Industrial School, with an average attendance of 201.²⁷

THE DEBATE

The change in public attitudes, that made possible the evolution of industrial schools, was a gradual process. It fed on the experiences gained by those already working in the field and involved with running the range of institutions described above. Despite the fact that there were a number of theories as to the best method of treatment there was a general change in mood towards young offenders as well as potential young offenders. There was also a growing acceptance that the Government should intervene and play a role in both the children's reformation and preventive care.

Having accepted that a solution needed to be found, a period of extensive debate and discussion took place on the merits of different schemes. Attitudes to child crime varied from country to country as well as within the countries themselves. In France it was accepted that children under 16 were 'sans discernment'; that is,

unaware of criminal intent. This was not a principle that English reformers necessarily agreed with. At the opening of the Manchester and Salford Reformatory in August 1857 Lord Shaftesbury stated:

It seems to me perfectly monstrous to lay it down as a principle that a young person up to the age of sixteen is not responsible for his actions. The principle which has been adopted by our friends on the other side of the water, that up to the age of sixteen a lad is *sans discernment*, is a most frightful one.²⁸

The range of institutions described above, both in England and elsewhere, had varying degrees of success and resulted in a range of opinion as to the value of each. A major difference of opinion was on the question of the merits of punishment against reformation and the ideal balance of the two. Delegates at the 1853 Birmingham conference expressed a range of views, but all agreed that the existing system of imprisonment was not working and that changes were necessary. They agreed to campaign for the introduction of legislation relating just to reformatory schools initially and expected that legislation for industrial schools would inevitably follow. For many the imposition of a two week period of imprisonment that formed part of the 1854 legislation was felt to be counter-productive. and the industrial school, which had no such restriction, was the answer.

A point that continued to be made against providing training and care for delinquent children was that this would offer both a premium to crime and discourage the honest and industrious. In 1847 a select committee of the House of Lords was appointed to examine gaols and houses of correction. In his evidence John Serjeant Adams, assistant judge of the Middlesex Quarter Sessions, said that he believed that just by convicting children, parents were relieved of the responsibility for their keep and were encouraged to make their children thieves.²⁹ Ten years later even Lord Shaftesbury considered punishment was a first priority, and at the opening of the Manchester and Salford Reformatory on 6 August 1857 said 'sin is a serious thing which entails punishment...having committed crime, they [young offenders] must suffer'.³⁰

Whilst many people still considered that prison was appropriate for some young offenders, there was criticism that it was being used when the offences the children had committed did not warrant it. In 1852 the Government set up a select committee to investigate the treatment of both criminal and destitute juveniles and Captain W.J. Williams, an inspector of prisons, complained to them that 'There are a great number of these boys who ought never to be sent to prison at all, who are rather subjects for the union workhouses, and ought to be there.'³¹

A further argument against sending children to prison was the matter of cost. Adams told the 1847 Select Committee that it did not make economic sense to send children to prison. He produced a return showing the number and ages of prisoners under 16 who had been committed for trial at the Middlesex Sessions during 1846. There were 530 offenders and the value of the property stolen by them amounted to £158. 7s. 9d. The cost of prosecution was £445. 17s.3d. and the cost of keeping the children in prison after conviction was £963. 12. 2d. The total cost was therefore £1,410. 9s. 5d. without allowing for the cost of transporting any of the children or keeping them in prison during the subsequent year. Worst of all was the fact that prison did not appear to prevent children from re-offending.³² In 1851 recommittal to prisons of young offenders was reported to be as high as 40 per cent to 50 per cent and in some cases reached 70 per cent.³³

THE CAMPAIGN FOR LEGISLATION

Having seen what was being achieved elsewhere, reformers became determined that Britain should follow suit. An early sign of interest in the problems of how to deal with young offenders had been demonstrated by the parliamentary inquiry of 1847 that looked into the way criminal law was carried out with special reference to juvenile offenders and transportation.³⁴ This inquiry condemned the imprisonment of 12 and 13 year olds and from then until the passing of the Reformatory Schools Act in 1854, the question of the care and treatment of juvenile delinquents and destitute children was increasingly debated.

Mary Carpenter was one of the major campaigners for reformation rather than punishment. She had been born in Exeter in 1807 and as a young woman was living in Lewins Mead, Bristol, when the Bristol riots erupted. Riots had already occurred in Derby and Nottingham following the rejection of the Reform Bill in October 1831. The Bristol recorder, Sir Charles Wetherell, had voted against the bill and on his return to Bristol three days of rioting resulted in 500 deaths. Mary's father, who had witnessed the disturbances, urged her to look at the reasons behind the riots, but in a report stated that the crowd in Bristol included 'worthless and abandoned lads and young men...with whom the streets of Bristol have been so long infested'.³⁵

These riots must have made a considerable impact on her and it was with the younger 'brothers and sisters' of those who had been involved, that she was later to do so much work. Lant Carpenter believed the riots should be used as a springboard for reform and that the opportunity for good should not be lost. Her work with the young people was a natural development of his ideals. She based her treatment on the needs of the child rather than punishment of the crime which Katherine Lenroot, who wrote the foreword in the 1970 edition of Mary Carpenter's book *Juvenile Delinquents*, considered made her 'more than a half-century in advance of her

time'.³⁶ Her ideas of helping and supporting the child were contrary to the accepted concepts of individual responsibility and self-help, and according to Jo Manton, this made her disliked in official circles.³⁷ Mary Carpenter tried to stimulate public interest following the lack of public reaction after the 1847 Select Committee of the House of Lords had recommended a trial of reformatory schools. She published her book on reformatory schools³⁸ in 1851, followed in 1853 by *Juvenile Delinquents* which advocated government help in the setting up of special schools for the care and support of problem children.³⁹ She maintained that the gaol was the only school provided by the state and there children were taught further criminal skills rather than being reformed.

As well as concerned individuals like Mary Carpenter, groups of people such as magistrates took steps to set up special schools. Magistrates were having daily to deal with the problem of what to do with young offenders and destitute children and were increasingly concerned that the existing laws were inappropriate. It was also felt that mixing young offenders with adults increased their likelihood of returning to crime on release. This happened not only after conviction but also while the children were awaiting trial. It was argued that minor offences should be dealt with by magistrates at Quarter Sessions and that bail should be available. Warwickshire magistrates had dealt with the problem as early as 1818 by setting up a special reformatory school at Stretton-on-Dunsmore, where young people could be sent from the Warwickshire and Birmingham gaols. It had been successful in reforming a large proportion of the boys but suffered from growing financial difficulties. Mary Carpenter wrote that the school achieved savings since it was cheaper to reform boys than to punish them. This argument of the cost effectiveness of reformatory schools was constantly used to justify their establishment. A Warwickshire MP, Sir Eardley Wilmot, had tried unsuccessfully to get a bill passed in 1833 to allow magistrates to deal with those under 17, charged with petty larceny.⁴⁰ He had opposed the establishment of Parkhurst and thought all young offenders should go to places like the one at Stretton. In Sussex in 1838, a number of acting magistrates signed a petition which supported the principle that magistrates should deal with the type of juvenile delinquents who were likely to be sent to reformatories. In 1846 a JP for Middlesex, Walter Buchanan, advocated a slightly different type of school. He wrote to his fellow magistrates that since imprisonment resulted in little or no reformation, he wanted one or more day refuges for unemployed boys under 12, to be established in areas such as Shoreditch, Whitechapel or Drury Lane.⁴¹ These he considered should be financed through the county rate since it was cheaper to prevent crime rather than deal with the later convictions. Such schools would be controlled by the JPs with attendance being voluntary and industrial training given and food supplied.

(This was very much the ultimate form of the day industrial schools such as the Drury Lane Day Industrial School, founded in 1895 in Goldsmith Street.) Another Middlesex JP, Benjamin Rotch, agreed in principle but advocated the introduction of legislation to make attendance at a residential school compulsory for children aged between seven and 15 who were neglected, homeless, orphans, bastards, offenders or destitute and others who were likely to become offenders. A private Act of Parliament⁴² was passed in July 1854 to allow for the provision of a county industrial school for children brought before the Middlesex courts and resulted in the opening of the Feltham Industrial School in 1858 just after the passing of the 1857 Industrial Schools Act. As well as providing for the establishment of new industrial schools it also allowed for the enlargement of any existing schools.

There had been earlier attempts to introduce other forms of legislation. In 1840 a bill had been introduced that allowed the care of a child to be assigned to a responsible person prepared to stand surety, but this power was largely unused.⁴³ Matthew Davenport Hill queried the legality of his action when instead of sending boys to prison he sent them home on signature for good behaviour by their master or guardian. Hill was the recorder for Birmingham from 1839 to 1866 and attended the Warwick sessions as counsel for 15 years. He believed that the Government should financially support the running of industrial schools by voluntary groups.

December 1851 marked a milestone for those trying to gain recognition of the need for governmental involvement, when a conference was held in Birmingham at the request of Mary Carpenter and with Hill's help and support.⁴⁴ The conference urged that laws be passed to enable the establishment of industrial feeding schools for vagrant children and correctional and reformatory schools for delinquents, assisted financially by the Government. As a result, C.B. Adderley MP, Baron Norton of Hams Hall, Warwickshire, called for a select committee which was set up in May 1852, adjourned, and reconstituted in November 1852.⁴⁵ Its role was to look into the treatment of 'criminal and destitute' juveniles and to find out what changes were needed to combine the ideas of reformation and the correction of juvenile crime. Adderley also called a second conference at Birmingham and it was the results of this, together with the findings of the select committee, which finally convinced Lord Aberdeen's Whig Government that legislation was warranted and public opinion was now strongly in its favour.⁴⁶

The select committee consisted of 17 members with the Rt. Hon. M.T. Baines (MP for Hull and then Leeds and President of the Poor Law Board in 1849) in the chair and included Adderley. Witnesses, experienced in working with juvenile delinquents, appeared before the committee and were questioned extensively about their ideas and experience. These witnesses included prison inspectors, chaplains of

gaols, police magistrates and teachers. Mary Carpenter and Sydney Turner both gave evidence. The age of criminal responsibility was debated as well as the question of whether punishment was a necessary part of reformation. The committee came to the conclusion that it was time Britain followed the example set both on the Continent and in the USA, of establishing special government backed schools, which would give young people in need, systematic education, care and industrial training rather than purely punishment. The debate on the need for punishment continued and it was not until 1899 that the preliminary period of imprisonment for children sent to reformatory schools, was abolished. The committee believed the existing private reformatories were successful and should be assisted through government financial support, and that new institutions should be set up, but insisted that the Government should not relieve the parents of all responsibility and that they should contribute financially whenever possible.

LEGISLATION

For juvenile offenders the twin difficulties which had faced the voluntary sector, of compulsory commitment and lack of finance, were overcome with the enactment of the 1854 Reformatory Schools Act.⁴⁷ This act gave power to courts to sentence juvenile offenders under 16 to detention in a reformatory for between two and five years, with a preliminary 14 days of imprisonment. Money was made available as the act authorised the Treasury either to pay for the child's keep in full or in part when the parents were making a contribution. The 1854 Act, however, was only permissive. Many magistrates continued to ignore it and although it was increasingly used, imprisonment of children continued at a reduced rate until the 1890s. The number of voluntary reformatory schools grew, and by 1858 over 50 schools had been established and only the most criminal cases were sent to Parkhurst.

There continued to be divisions between those who believed the reformatory schools should be partly retributive and those who wanted them to be wholly restorative, with the result that the reformatory schools were a compromise and failed to fulfil the high ideals of many of the reformers. The schools had to cope with a wide range of delinquency as well as destitution, and it was found that in practice different levels of reform were needed for different children. Reformatory schools did not cope with the prevention of crime envisaged by many of the reformers.

Scotland already had a number of industrial schools and although the 1854 Act provided support for them it did not do so for industrial schools in England. Thus the campaign for legislation to cover industrial schools in England continued. At the Bristol meeting of the National Reformatory Union in 1856 Alfred Hill read a paper on the Scottish industrial schools.⁴⁸ The committee of the Law Amendment Society undertook to prepare a bill which Sir Stafford Northcote brought into the

House of Commons in February 1857.⁴⁹ The Industrial Schools Act finally became law in August 1857⁵⁰ and supported existing industrial schools and the setting up of new schools to prevent juvenile delinquency through catering for vagrant, destitute and disorderly children and those aged under 12 who had offended. This was despite Sydney Turner's reservations about the committal of unconvicted children since he considered it would be difficult to know where to draw the line.

While the enactment of the Reformatory Schools Act and the Industrial Schools Act demonstrated the Government's acceptance of some responsibility for the care of delinquent and destitute children, many people considered the legislation to be inadequate and ineffective. Further industrial schools acts were introduced: in 1860, in 1861 and in 1866.⁵¹

EXAMPLES OF EARLY INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

The passing of the 1857 Act did not make an immediate major impact. Only two schools had been certified by 1858 and although by 1861 the number had increased to 19, the proportion of children in these schools detained under the 1857 Act was still low.⁵² Many of these schools provided care for destitute children who had been admitted voluntarily (i.e. not through the courts) and official figures are not available showing their numbers. Many other children attended the wide range of uncertified schools which had been set up by the voluntary sector. The following examples are introduced to illustrate the range of early industrial schools which will be used later to provide illustrative material concerning the actual running of industrial schools.

The Chesterton Industrial School, Cambridge

An early, initially uncertified school, was the Chesterton School. This was a small school, intended originally for local boys aged between 13 and 18, who were too old for the National School but unable to find work and in need of 'good moral influence' rather than the vagrant and destitute children aged from seven to 15, covered by the 1857 Industrial Schools Act. The University and townspeople had joined forces to establish the school, following a public meeting held in the city in 1847.⁵³ It opened in 1850 in the buildings shown below in figure 2.1, at Chesterton on the outskirts of Cambridge. The cost of the buildings was met partly through a grant of £106.10s. from the Committee of the Privy Council and partly with £120 raised privately.⁵⁴ Unlike the majority of industrial schools, overnight accommodation was not provided initially. Some minimal provision was made in 1864 but by 1865 only three boys were resident.⁵⁵ An attempt was made to charge for attendance but this seems to have been quickly dropped. The school's daily routine appears to have been very similar to other industrial schools, with a period of

schoolwork and industrial training. The boys were taught field work and some simple handicrafts.

Figure 2.1

THE CHESTERTON INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



By the 1880s the children admitted included young offenders but the local court did not seem to have used this school for the children that came before them. Between 1882 and 1924 the Cambridge Court of Summary Jurisdiction was sending boys to the Essex Industrial School at Chelmsford and girls to the Fakenham Industrial School in Norfolk, and also used the Suffolk Reformatory School. In 1894 the school was transferred to the Church of England Waifs' and Strays' Society and it was not until then that it then became a certified industrial school. This necessitated considerable alteration and extension of its buildings and the school was renamed the Harvey Goodwin Home (after its first secretary, who later became the Bishop of Carlisle). The Chesterton school continued on this site until 1924 when the buildings were demolished and it moved to new premises. It finally closed in 1980.

The Feltham Industrial School

An industrial school opened after the passing of the 1857 legislation but not directly as a result of it, was the Feltham Industrial School. As mentioned earlier, this school was established by the Middlesex justices through a private Act of Parliament which had become law in 1854. However, the school did not in fact open until the vast buildings, shown below in figure 2.2 were completed in January 1859.

A committee of JPs, purchased 90 acres of land at Feltham in Middlesex, for £6,000, where buildings costing £38,950 were erected. These costs and those of

running the home were met through the county rate until 1866 when they were supplement by Treasury grants. Under the 1854 Act the boys' parents were made to contribute towards their children's upkeep. The school was transferred to the LCC in 1889 and continued to run until 1910.⁵⁶ The site is now used for a young offenders institute.

The size of the school meant that it needed to be divided up into sections, which took into account the age and type of boy. Each section had a dormitory with 50 beds, schoolrooms, a playground, washrooms and toilets as well as two punishment cells with high windows. The boys from the different groups were kept apart as far as was possible but shared the use of the chapel, the farm and the workshops.

Figure 2.2

THE FELTHAM INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



To make absconding more difficult the school had one entrance and exit gate with a lodge and lodge keeper. New boys were kept there for the first two weeks of their period of committal. This was partly for health reasons to see if they were infectious, but they also underwent some initial training and were assessed to see to which section they were most suited. When in 1908, the Government decided that schools should be smaller, Feltham, the largest school in the country, was closed.

Park Row Industrial School, Bristol

Both the Chesterton and Feltham schools had been established without the impetus of the 1857 Act, whilst others followed the introduction of this supporting legislation. Park Row was one of the earliest schools to become certified, which it did in June 1859. Lant Carpenter wrote in 1868 that of the 58 English certified

schools in existence at that time, only five had been certified before Park Row.⁵⁷ Mary Carpenter, having urged the introduction of legislation to encourage the establishment of industrial schools, felt she should start a school in Bristol and in 1859 succeeded in setting up the Park Row Industrial School. A Mrs Evans of London gave £200 and a Frederick Chappell of Liverpool provided money to buy the house shown in figure 2.3.⁵⁸ The Privy Council on Education provided an allowance of 3/- a week for each committed child, which together with a 1/- per head per week Borough allowance and the profit from the children's work, covered the day to day running expenses of the school.

Figure 2.3

PARK ROW INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, BRISTOL

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



This small but highly successful school was one of the longest running industrial schools and continued to operate until 1922.

The Boys' Home, London

The third school to be certified under the 1857 Act and the first to be certified in London was the Boys' Home. It was founded in February 1858 in the buildings in Euston Road shown in figure 2.4, and given a Home Office certificate in July of the same year. In 1865 when the Midland Railway needed to take over the original site the Boys' Home moved to Regents Park Road, Hampstead.

Figure 2.4

THE BOYS' HOME, EUSTON ROAD**IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES**

It ran until 1920, when the Government attempted to raise the standard of industrial schools nationally and notified the school that new buildings would be needed and that the home should relocate in the country. A branch home had been opened in East Barnet in 1860, to which some of the boys were transferred when the Boys' Home closed.

The Boys' Farm Home, (Church Farm) East Barnet

The branch home was established in an old farmhouse, called Church Farm, in East Barnet on the southern tip of Hertfordshire, lying not far from the Great Northern Railway line. Major (later Lt Col) Gillum, brother-in-law to G.W. Bell and patron of the pre-Raphaelite group, bought a farmhouse and 50 acres of land which were transferred in 1884 into the ownership of a trust. The aim was to ensure that through learning agricultural skills, when the boys left they could earn their living in the country and avoid returning to the temptations of city life. Initially, just four boys from the Euston Road home were sent there but this second home grew rapidly. The school became separated from the London home in 1865 and, following the addition of buildings designed by Philip Webb, increased its capacity to take about 100 boys. Further extensive new buildings were provided in 1926.

Figure 2.5

THE BOYS' FARM HOME, CHURCH FARM

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



The Boys' Farm Home continued on its East Barnet site until 1937, having become an approved school under the 1933 Approved Schools Act. It then moved to Godstone in Surrey and in 1968 the County Council took over the running of the home. It was reconstituted as the Hays Bridge Approved School and finally closed in 1980 after 120 years of caring for boys.

The Leeds Industrial School

An early industrial school that had its roots in other philanthropic enterprises, was the Leeds Industrial School. A group of subscribers formed the Leeds Ragged School and Shoe-Black Society in March 1859. As well as running a refuge for boys working as shoe blacks the Society established two ragged schools. The work of the Society was taken over by the Leeds School Board in 1872 and that body was superseded by the Leeds Education Committee in 1878.

The Society opened a mixed ragged school in March 1859 on Richmond Hill and another, intended principally for girls was set up in Regent Street, Leylands in July 1859. In 1862 the schools amalgamated and moved to new premises at Edgar Street becoming certified under the name the Leeds Ragged and Certified Industrial School. New buildings were erected in Shadwell Lane in 1878, when the school was certified to take 180 boys. The school went over to taking just boys and in 1879 an industrial school for girls was certified in Windsor Street, Burmantofts, which ran

until 1910. A further girls school was certified for 100 girls at Thorparch which later became an approved school.

CONCLUSION

The provision of reformatory care prior to the passing of the 1854 Reformatory Schools Act and the 1857 Industrial Schools Act relied almost entirely on voluntary initiatives. The State's only contribution was to provide some segregation within the existing prison system and to establish Parkhurst. Voluntary institutions had two major weaknesses. The first was their lack of funds and the second their inability legally to detain children. The introduction of legislation provided government support and with it some standardisation.

Of the early industrial schools described above, the Chesterton Industrial School was the least like the others and did not become certified under the Home Office until some time after its original foundation. Although it evolved into a form more in line with the usual type of industrial school, it was not originally intended for the long term residential care and reform of vagrant or semi-criminal children brought before the courts but more as a stop-gap between school and work for poor children. Of the other five schools the Boys' Home, Boys' Farm Home, Feltham, the Leeds Industrial School and Park Row Feltham stands out because of its immense size and because it was set up by a group of magistrates, prompted by the need to solve the problems facing the courts rather than the needs of the children themselves. The Leeds school was also different because unlike the remaining three it was not founded by individuals but by a society founded to promote the care of vulnerable children, which it did in several ways.

Having established how industrial schools came about, the following series of chapters will examine how the industrial school system worked in practice, looking at the founders and the managers, the staff, the children and their lives both whilst at the schools and thereafter.

Notes

- ¹Sir E. Du Cane, 'Punishment & Prevention of Crime' quoted by Peter Boss in *Social Policy and the Young Delinquent* (London 1885) p. 200
- ²Report on the Prisons of the Metropolis - HL 1819 (32) CVI p. 14
- ³Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on the subject of Juvenile Delinquency and Preventive and Reformatory Schools (London 1851) p. 63
- ⁴W.B. Sanders, *Juvenile Delinquency for a Thousand Years* (N. Carolina 1970) p.112
- ⁵Report on the Prisons of the Metropolis - HL 1819 (32) CVI p. 5
- ⁶H. Mayhew & J. Binney, *Criminal Prisons of London and Scenes of Prison Life* (reprinted London 1968)
- ⁷W. Branch Johnson, *The Hulks* (London 1957) pp. 92-146
- ⁸John Wade, *A treatise on the Police and Crime of the Metropolis* quoted by W.B. Sanders in *Juvenile Delinquency* (N. Carolina 1970) p. 136
- ⁹*Ibid.* p 137
- ¹⁰An Act for establishing a prison for young offenders (the Parkhurst Act 1838) - Vic 1 & 2 Cap LXXXII
- ¹¹Julius Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble* (London 1970) p. 27
- ¹²The Annual Report of the Refuge for the Destitute for the Year 1832, (London 1833) quoted by W.B. Sanders in *Juvenile Offenders for a Thousand Years* (N. Carolina 1970) p.98
- ¹³S. Corder, *Life of Elizabeth Fry* (London 1893) p. 345
- ¹⁴*Ibid.* p. 268
- ¹⁵Angela Alabaster ed., *A History of the Royal Philanthropic Society 1788-1988* (London 1988) p.3
- ¹⁶Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Subject of Juvenile Delinquency and Preventive and Reformatory Schools (London 1854) p. 62
- ¹⁷*Ibid.*
- ¹⁸J.L. Hammond, *Lord Shaftesbury* (London 1936) p. 232
- ¹⁹Charles Dickens, 'A Sleep to Startle Us' quoted in *Charles Dickens a December Vision* ed. Neil Philip & Victor Neuberg (London 1986) p. 96
- ²⁰*The Field Lane Story* (London 1961) pp. 20, 23
- ²¹Bethnal Green Board of Guardians' Report for 1903 p. 63
- ²²Joseph Tuckermann, *Christian Service to the Poor in the Cities* (Bristol 1839)
- ²³Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes* (London 1851) p. 234
- ²⁴Cyril Burt, *The Young Delinquent* (London 1931)
- ²⁵*Autobiographies of Industrial School Children* (London 1865) p. 4

²⁶Ibid.

²⁷Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Dangerous and Perishing Classes* (London 1851) pp. 247, 248

²⁸Lord Shaftesbury's Speech at the Opening of Manchester and Salford Reformatory for Juvenile Criminals, 6 August 1857 quoted in Mary Turner's lecture notes

²⁹Report of the Select Committee on Gaols and Houses of Correction - HL 1847 VII

³⁰Lord Shaftesbury's Speech at the Opening of the Manchester and Salford Reformatory for Juvenile Criminals, 6 August 1857 quoted in Mary Turner's lecture notes

³¹Report of the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children - PP 1852 VII (515) Minutes of Evidence Capt W.J. Williams p. 191

³²Report of the Select Committee on Gaols and Houses of Correction - HL 1847 VII Minutes of Evidence John Serjeant Adams p. 427

³³Result of Conference on Juvenile Delinquency, Birmingham 1851 Appendix 6, p. 443

³⁴Second Report of the Select Committee on Gaols and Houses of Correction - HL 1847 VII p. 5

³⁵Lant Carpenter, *On the Bristol Riots* (1831)

³⁶Katherine Lenroot 'Mary Carpenter and Reforms in the treatment of juvenile delinquents' (Princeton, New Jersey 1970) in the Foreword to the reprint of Mary Carpenter's *Juvenile Delinquents their condition and Treatment* p. xi

³⁷Jo Manton, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London 1976)

³⁸Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes* (London 1851)

³⁹Mary Carpenter, *Juvenile Delinquents their condition and treatment* (London 1853)

⁴⁰W.B. Sanders, *Juvenile Delinquency for a Thousand Years* (N. Carolina 1970) p. 116

⁴¹Walter Buchanan 'Remarks on the Causes and State of Juvenile Crime in the Metropolis, with Hints for Preventing its Increase' (London 1846) quoted in W.B. Sanders *Juvenile Delinquency for a Thousand Years* (N. Carolina 1970) p. 188

⁴²An Act for the provision regulation and maintenance of County Industrial Schools in Middlesex (1854) - Vic 17 & 18 Cap CLXIX

⁴³An Act for the Care & Education of Infants who may be convicted of a felony - Statutes at large Vol 89 384 3 & 4 Vic Cap C.XC. quoted in W.B.Sanders, *Juvenile Offenders for a Thousand Years* (N. Carolina 1970)

⁴⁴Report of the Proceedings of a Conference on the Subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools held at Birmingham on the 9th and 10th December 1851

(London 1851)

⁴⁵Report of the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles - PP 1852 (515) VII p. 191

⁴⁶Report of the Proceedings of the Second Conference on the Subject of Juvenile Delinquency and Preventive Reformatory Schools held at Birmingham on December 20th 1853 (London 1854)

⁴⁷An Act for the better care and reformation of young offenders in Great Britain (The Reformatory Schools Act 1854) - 17 & 18 Vic Cap LXXXVI

⁴⁸The Authorised Report of the first Provincial Meeting of the National Reformatory Union (Bristol 1856)

⁴⁹The Industrial Schools Bill - Hansard vol CXLIV 10.2.1857 cols. 474-478

⁵⁰An Act to make better Provision for the Care and Education of vagrant destitute and disorderly Children and for the Extension of Industrial Schools (1857) - 20 & 21 Vic XLVIII

⁵¹(1860) - 23 & 24 Vic Cap CVIII: (1861) - 24 & 25 Vic Cap CXIII: (1866) - 29 & 30 Vic Cap CXVIII

⁵²Return of all Industrial Schools certified under the Act 24 & 25 Vic C 113 - PP 1862 (248) XLIII - Appendix A

⁵³First Report of the Cambridge Industrial School (Cambridge 1851) p. 4

⁵⁴Ibid. p. 5

⁵⁵Fifteenth Report of the Cambridge Industrial School (Cambridge 1865) p. 7

⁵⁶G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c 1979)

⁵⁷Ibid. p. 41

⁵⁸*Park Row Certified Industrial School* (Bristol 1875)

CHAPTER III

THE CHILDREN - ADMISSIONS TO INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

INTRODUCTION

The principal objective of founders of industrial schools was to provide care and training for children who, without such intervention, might subsequently be sent to prisons or reformatories. This chapter identifies these children and establishes what made them different from others. It shows how and why they were sent to the schools and in what numbers, as well as their ages and family circumstances. It also examines whether there were any changes in the types of children being sent to industrial schools, their ages and the grounds on which they were committed, over the period that the schools ran.

Difficulties occur because statistics relating to children either actually in the schools or being sent to them are not always structured in the same way. Figures for children in Welsh schools are invariably included with the English figures, but those for Scotland can be given separately, although after 1866 they came under the same legislation and later statistics included Scottish figures. For the purposes of this thesis admissions are described as 'national' when they include Scottish schools. Whilst this chapter relates to the admission of children, their daily lives are covered in Chapters VI and VII.

Children could be sent to industrial schools in two ways. The first was as 'voluntary' admissions and the second was by being 'committed' by magistrates. Prior to the passing of the first industrial schools act in 1857, all children were admitted voluntarily, but by the time the schools were transferred to the approved school system in 1933, almost all of the children in the schools were committed children.¹

This chapter examines the types and numbers of children being sent voluntarily to the schools prior to certification, as well as those children who continued to be sent voluntarily to certified industrial schools. It also looks at the children who were committed under the various acts and compares the two categories. How the proportion of these committed children changed in relation to voluntary children is examined, as well as the question of whether this reflected a changing role of the schools. In the case of all children the process of admission, the children's ages on admission, their length of stay, the reason behind their admission and their family background, are investigated.

In addition to looking at centrally generated material, the records of a number of individual schools are examined to discover what happened in practice. The examination of this local material makes possible the inclusion of information on the

voluntary industrial school children who would not be included in the centrally generated sources.

ADMISSIONS

Voluntary admissions

Before the passing of the 1854 Dunlop Act in Scotland and the 1857 Industrial Schools Act in England and Wales, there were a number of uncertified industrial schools which were already taking in the type of children that the legislation was intended to cover. These schools had been set up through voluntary initiatives and did not have legal power to detain children, consequently all admissions in Scotland up to 1854 were voluntary and in England and Wales up to 1857.² Thereafter both voluntary and committed children were sent to industrial schools certified under the legislation. It was possible to be much more flexible in the type of children admitted voluntarily than with those children who were committed. However each school was free, within the legislation, to identify the particular group of children for whom they had designed their school and to exclude those they considered unsuitable. There was a general consensus amongst founders and early managers that the schools should be primarily preventative institutions, as described in Chapter I, intended for vulnerable but unconvicted children. The views of those who attended the two Birmingham conferences, held in 1851 and 1853, were very much the same. It was that the role of residential industrial schools was to provide care, education and training for children who might otherwise turn to crime.

Not all managers of voluntary industrial schools wanted to be constrained by the new legislation, and some schools decided to stay outside the certified school system or become certified under a similar act relating to Poor Law schools. Others made use of the legislation to provide financial assistance but continued to admit voluntary children alongside the committed children.

Comprehensive statistics are not available for either the numbers of voluntary uncertified schools or the numbers of voluntary admissions to both certified and uncertified industrial schools. The 1861 Newcastle Commission did report, however, that only 171 of the 1,193 children in English certified schools had been committed, which meant the remaining 1,022 were all voluntary cases. Of the committed children, 100 had been sent to Newcastle, 35 to Liverpool and 19 to Bristol.³ The records of some individual schools do include limited data, but the diverse and independent character of schools has meant a very random survival of archival material. Since managers of individual schools decided exactly whom they considered to be suitable for their school, any source material relating to the type of children they accepted is likely to be amongst the schools' own archives. The

examination of individual schools in the last section of this chapter will include material on voluntary children.

Committed Children

Centrally collected figures are more readily available in respect of children committed under one of the industrial schools acts because certification involved government inspection and reports. The aim of the 1857 Act was to 'Make better provision for the care and education of vagrant, destitute or disorderly children and for the extension of industrial schools', for children aged from seven to 14.⁴ The 1854 Reformatory School Act, by way of contrast, was intended to cover 'any person under the age of sixteen years...convicted of any offence punishable by law'.⁵ A weakness of the 1857 Act was that it did not clearly identify the type of child to be committed and it was considered to be largely ineffectual despite 19 schools becoming certified under it. This lack of clarity was remedied by an amending act of 1861 under which seven more schools became certified. This amending act defined in greater detail the type of child to be covered, and removed the lower age limit of seven years. It described the four groups of children as follows:

- (1) any child, apparently aged under fourteen, found begging or receiving alms,
- (2) any child found wandering without a settled home or visible means of support or in the company of thieves;
- (3) any unconvicted child under the age of twelve who had committed an offence punishable by prison whom the justices thought should go to an industrial school;
- (4) or a child under fourteen whose parents stated they were unable to control him and who were prepared to pay the whole cost of his maintenance up to 5/- a week.⁶

The third act of this group, passed in 1866, clarified the process of admitting children and extended the range of children to include convicts' children, those in bad company and refractory children in workhouses, pauper schools, union, parish or district pauper schools or poorhouses. Following the introduction of the 1870 and 1876 Education Acts the truant child was added to the list of those who could be committed to industrial schools, and new truant schools and day industrial schools were established. Whether the type of child dealt with under these acts was materially different from the child previously covered by the industrial schools legislation is not absolutely clear.

Under section 14 of the 1871 Prevention of Crimes Act, children of convicted mothers without visible means of support or proper guardianship, could also be sent to industrial schools.⁷ Children living with prostitutes could be committed under the

Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880.⁸ In 1908 Part IV of the Children Act described the type of child to be sent to industrial schools and all subsequent admissions were under this act.⁹ As well as the categories already covered under earlier acts it added girls whose fathers had been convicted of the abuse of any of their daughters under the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885.¹⁰ A temporary additional group of children was added during the First World War. Despite initial opposition, some children of soldiers who had been killed were sent to industrial schools. Finally, children who were found in the process of street trading could be sent under locally introduced byelaws.

National Figures

Immediately after 1857 most children in both certified and uncertified schools continued to be admitted voluntarily. In January 1861 the Privy Council Committee on Education's inspector for the London area, E.C. Tufnell, reported that fewer than 20 children had been sent under the act, although 'the streets are thickly strewn with proper occupants for the certified schools' and most of the refuges he had visited were full of the vagabond type of child for whom the legislation was intended and who would have qualified for admission to industrial schools and a higher grant.¹¹ Sydney Turner reported that nationally barely 200 children had been sent to industrial schools under a magistrate's order in 1860 and those who were held were mainly in schools in Bristol and Newcastle.¹²

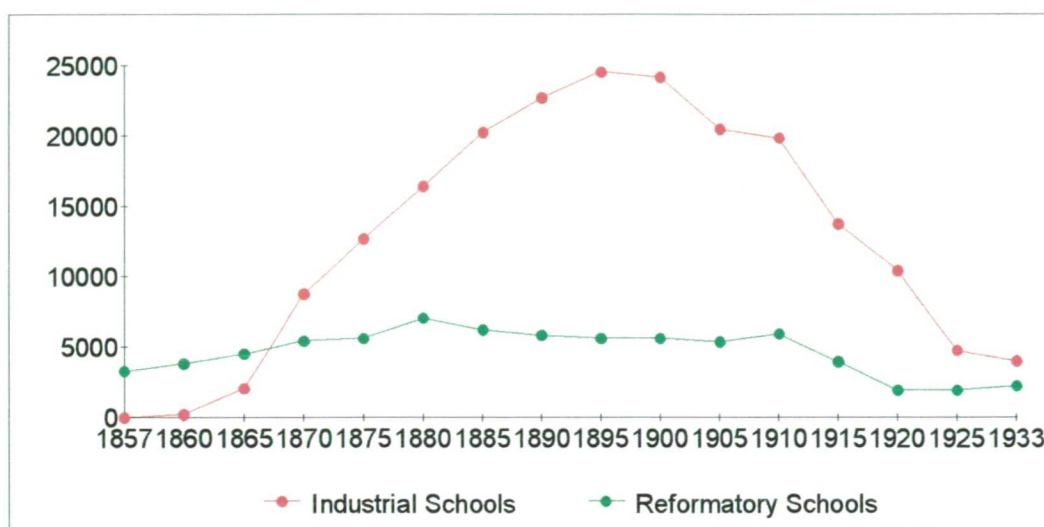
The new legislation of 1860 and 1861 did encourage further admissions to industrial schools. By 1861 in England 149 boys and 101 girls were being held under a magistrate's order and by 1862 this had risen to a total of 531. On the 31 December 1865 the number of committed children in industrial schools, had grown to 1,161 in England, with 901 in Scotland. Five years later, by December 1870, nationally the number of committed children industrial schools had increased considerably to 8,788.¹³ The number of children continued to grow steadily up to the end of the nineteenth century but the turn of the century saw a decline, as figure 3.1 demonstrates.

The figures for reformatory schools showed a different pattern from those for industrial schools. The legislation that provided for reformatory schools predated that for industrial schools by three years and the stronger link that these schools had with magistrates appears to have encouraged an earlier uptake of places in them compared to industrial schools. However overall fewer children were admitted to the schools and the rate of admission was much steadier with less dramatic increases and decreases. The change in attitudes towards what constituted a criminal child in need of punishment was reflected in the gradual reduction in the numbers of children being sent to reformatory schools from 1880 onward while numbers of those being sent to

industrial schools continued to rise. The new century saw a decline in numbers for both schools, although that for industrial schools was much sharper.

Figure 3.1

**NUMBER OF NATIONALLY COMMITTED CHILDREN
IN RESIDENTIAL CERTIFIED INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS**



(These figures have been taken from the 45th and 53rd Reports of the Home Office Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools and for figures from 1908 onwards, the Reports of the Children's Branch)

The availability of alternative ways of dealing with juvenile delinquents, such as probation after 1908, as well as improved social conditions, meant the need for the schools started to decline. Of the children attending juvenile courts in 1910, 10.62 per cent were placed on probation. By 1923 the proportion had grown to 18.92 per cent and the total number of children dealt with decreased from 33,598 to 28,773.¹⁴ The number in industrial schools grew a little during the First World War but declined thereafter. In 1915 there were 13,737 children in residential industrial schools and 1,569 in day industrial schools. Five years later there were only 10,409 children in residential schools and 736 in day industrial schools. By 1924 these figures had dropped dramatically to 4,048 children in residential industrial schools and 325 in day industrial schools.¹⁵ By 1933 the number of children in all the schools had declined further to 3,998 with 108 in day industrial schools.¹⁶

THE PROSECUTORS

The voluntary admission of children to industrial schools was initiated mainly by philanthropic individuals or societies but the Poor Law guardians also nominated

voluntary cases. Contributions towards the cost of keeping the children in the schools were usually paid by whoever initiated proceedings .

A weakness of the early acts, was that they did not specify who should act as the prosecutor and begin the process of committing a child to an industrial school, and if the case was dismissed this individual was responsible for the costs of the case. The 1866 Act provided that 'any person may bring before two justices or a magistrate any child under the age of 14 years in the categories described'.¹⁷ In practice this meant no one person had specific responsibility and this was why few children were committed initially by the courts. A range of people initiated prosecution and the circumstances which had brought the children to their attention affected who these people were likely to be. As well as individuals, prosecutors included the police and clergymen. Boards of guardians tended to favour sending children to Poor Law schools and reserved industrial schools for the more difficult children.

A parliamentary return of 1862 listed 84 children committed to the seven industrial schools certified under the 1861 Act. At that time 339 children had been sent nationally under a magistrates order. As well as naming the individual children the return also, with some exceptions, listed the prosecutor, the child's religion and his or her offence. Of the seven schools, three were Roman Catholic and the other four were Protestant. However the majority of the children, 57, were Roman Catholic and of these 25 had been prosecuted by a priest. The pattern was different for Protestant children. In the majority of their cases the police were the prosecutors. Four children had been brought to court by their mothers and 22 children had been prosecuted by named individuals, both men and women, about whom no further information is given.¹⁸ In London in 1867 the problem of identifying eligible children was eased by the Reformatory and Refuge Union's appointing a boys' beadle and in 1868 an agent was nominated to do the same work in Birmingham. The beadle's role was to visit districts where children were in difficulties and, when appropriate, arrange for them to be sent to industrial schools.

The provision of national elementary education introduced a new prosecuting body, the school boards. Clauses 27 and 28 of the 1870 Education Act provided for financial contributions to be made by the boards rather than the local councils and allowed boards to establish their own industrial schools. Attendance at elementary schools was not made compulsory at this stage and committals to industrial schools for truancy were made under a later act, the 1876 Elementary Education Act. This act empowered courts to enforce school attendance of neglected or vagrant children and those mixing with criminals or disorderly people. When an attendance order was not complied with, the child could be sent to either a day industrial school or a certified industrial school. The 1876 Act also provided for the establishment of

school attendance committees, where school boards had not already been set up and these committees had the same compulsory powers over attendance as the boards. The powers given under the education acts for the boards to found their own residential industrial schools, were only taken up by a small proportion: seven boards set up eight residential schools, nine boards established 10 truant schools and 12 each set up a day industrial school.¹⁹

The London School Board

The London School Board (LSB) made particularly good use of industrial schools. Unlike other boards, it was established directly under Clauses 37-39 of the 1870 Act. The new LSB established an industrial schools' committee to oversee the care of children who came under the legislation. There were two groups who required the board's help: truant children and vagrant children. In 1871 the board employed attendance officers or visitors to trace truants and two special officers to deal with vagrant children. In 1872 the visitors compiled a list of all children in their area who should attend school. The parents of children who failed to attend regularly were served with Form A notifying them of their legal obligations. Form B 'invited' them to attend a divisional committee or sub-committee meeting. If these measures did not work then the matter was taken to the magistrates court where the visitor gave evidence and this could lead to the child's committal to an industrial school.

In its Final Report in 1904 the board stated that it had agreements to send children to 64 independent industrial schools, 38 for boys and 26 for girls, and had established nine industrial schools of its own, including two truant schools. During its 33 years of existence the LSB was responsible for sending 34,110 children to industrial schools: of whom 11,281 went to truant schools and 1,254 to day industrial schools.²⁰

A typical case of a child sent to an industrial school by the LSB was that of Charles Edwin Adams. He was aged 12 when in May 1884 he was charged by the police with wandering and not being under proper guardianship. He had been away from home for three weeks and was in a wretched state, ragged and dirty. He had taken 9d. from his father before running away from home. He had done this many times before and on one occasion had taken 5/-. His parents had previously been summoned and fined three times. His mother was dead and his father, Edwin, was a horsekeeper in a tram yard. Charles was sent to the Boys' Farm Home until the age of 16.²¹

GROUNDINGS FOR ADMISSION

As mentioned earlier, children could be committed under the various sections of the industrial schools acts, under the 1871 Prevention of Crimes Act, under the 1876 Education Act or under the 1885 Criminal Law Amendment Act. Locally introduced byelaws could also be used to send children to truant or day industrial schools. However after 1908 most children were committed under the Children's Act of that year. Those attending day industrial schools could be transferred to residential industrial schools by an Order in Council if they were playing truant or refusing to conform to the schools' rules.

It is not always possible to establish precisely under which section of the acts children were committed. Of the 84 children listed in the 1862 parliamentary return referred to earlier, the largest group, about 71 per cent, were those who had been brought to court for begging, destitution or vagrancy. The proportion of children who had been caught stealing was 12 per cent, 2.5 per cent had been in the company of thieves, 3.5 per cent were considered to be out of control.²²

Nationally in 1894 3,117 boys and 925 girls were committed to certified industrial schools.²³ Of these 52 per cent were committed under Section 14 of the 1866 Act: 12 per cent were sent under Section 15, making a total of 64 per cent for the two sections. Over half of the Section 14 children had been sent because they had been found wandering, just over a quarter had been found begging or receiving alms and the remainder were destitute. Section 15 covered children charged with an offence but who had not previously been convicted. Section 16 related to children who were out of the control of their parents or guardians and 7.5 per cent of children were committed under that section, with 0.04 per cent sent under Section 17 which covered refractory children in workhouses or pauper schools. Committals under the 1876 Education Act accounted for 15.5 per cent and a further 7.5 per cent were sent under the 1880 Act.

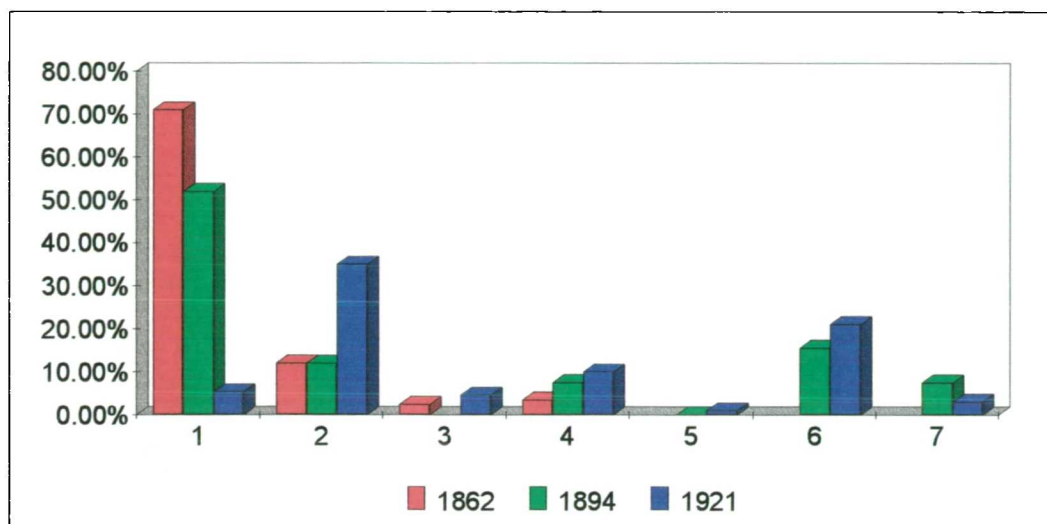
In 1921 1,276 children were sent to residential industrial schools.²⁴ Of these 2.3 per cent had been found begging, 1.25 per cent wandering, 1.75 per cent had been deserted, 4 per cent had criminal parents, 0.6 per cent had been in bad company, 3 per cent were living in brothels, 35 per cent had been charged with punishable offences, 10 per cent were out of their parents' control, 1 per cent were refractory paupers, 21 per cent had been sent under the Education Act, 0.6 per cent had been transferred from day industrial schools and 0.2 per cent had been prosecuted under street trading byelaws.

These statistics have been incorporated in figure 3.2 which shows that whilst industrial schools had been designed to help vagrant and semi-criminal children and at first the large majority of the children were taken from the streets for begging,

destitution or vagrancy, and this continued to be the case at least up to 1894, by 1921 very few children were being sent for these reasons. The proportion of children who had been sent for stealing, on the other hand, had grown.

Figure 3.2

GROUNDS FOR ADMISSION (National)



(These figures have been based on numbers taken from the Parliamentary Return of 1862, The Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory & Industrial Schools 1896 and the First Report of the Work of the Children's Branch 1923.)

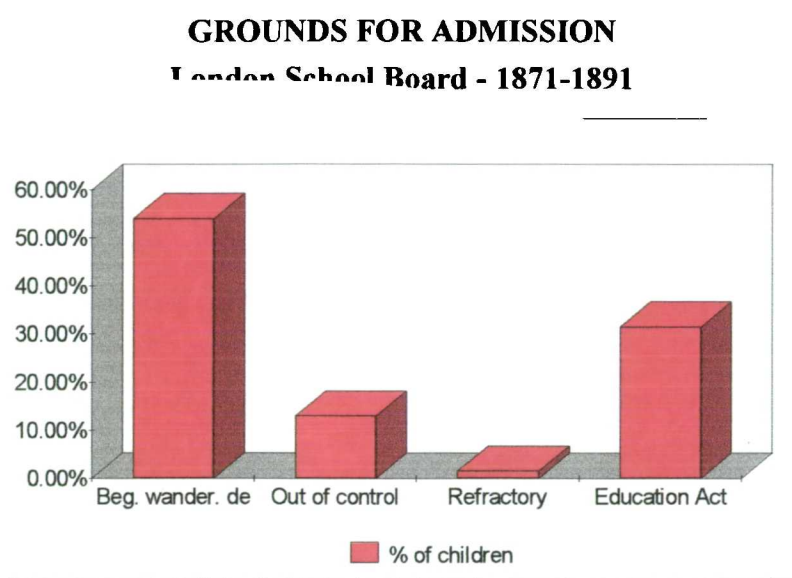
- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. begging/vagrancy, dest. Sec.14 - I/S Act | 5. refractory Sec 17 |
| 2. committed offence Sec 15 I/S Act | 6. Education Act |
| 3. company of thieves | 7. 1880 Act |
| 4. out of control sec 16 - I/S Act | |

The London School Board reported that of the 17,034 children it had sent to industrial schools between 1871 and March 1891, 9,241 or 54 per cent, had been sent under Sections 14 and 15 of the 1866 Industrial Schools Act; a somewhat lower figure than the 64 per cent committed nationally. Thirteen per cent or 2,246 children had been sent under Section 16; whilst 247, 1.5 per cent, had been sent under the 1880 Act having been found in brothels. Finally, 5,257, 31 per cent, had been sent under Clause II of the Elementary Education Act 1876 and 44, 0.25 per cent, under Sub-section 2.²⁵ Figure 3.3 shows these figures.

The figures for the LSB indicate that about one third of its committals were under the 1876 Education Act. This was a greater proportion than those sent on these grounds nationally but was perhaps not as high as might be expected, bearing in mind the nature of the board's role as an educational body. It is clear that the LSB

elementary education meant that school boards took over some of the responsibility for committing children. If the LSB was typical, since cases of truancy only formed a third of its committals, boards were probably responsible for committing a large number of other categories of children. About half of the committals in 1894 were still vulnerable, pre-criminal children, but by 1923 there was a considerable change. Only a very small proportion of the children were sent to schools on these grounds. The largest number of children were being sent for having committed an offence, the next largest group came under the 1876 Education Act and the third largest group were out of the control of their parents.

Figure 3.3



(These figures are taken from the 39th Report of the Inspector of Prisons -
Reformatory and Industrial Schools)

The 1908 Children Act had redefined the grounds for admission and subsequent admissions came under the various sections of that act. The Fifth Report of the Children's Branch showed that there was a decrease in the number of children being sent to industrial schools from 3,229 in 1913 to 1,415 in 1926. The number of neglected children showed the largest decrease, from 1,898 in 1913 (58 per cent of all admissions) to 375 in 1926 (26.5 per cent). There was also an overall decrease in the number of children sent under Sections 58(2), charged with an offence but aged under 12 years and Section 58(3), previously unconvicted children charged with an offence aged over 12 years, from 925 in 1913 to 491 in 1926, but this was a higher proportion of all children admitted, which increased from 28.6 per cent to 34 per cent. There was a reduction in the numbers of those considered as being out of their parents' or guardians' control from 211 in 1913 to 114 in 1926, but this was a similar proportion of the total sent.²⁶

FAMILY BACKGROUNDS, GENDER AND AGES

The previous section clearly shows that the grounds for admission and the numbers of children being committed changed between 1857 and 1933. This section will examine, as far as is possible with the limited data available, the children their ages, family circumstances and home backgrounds.

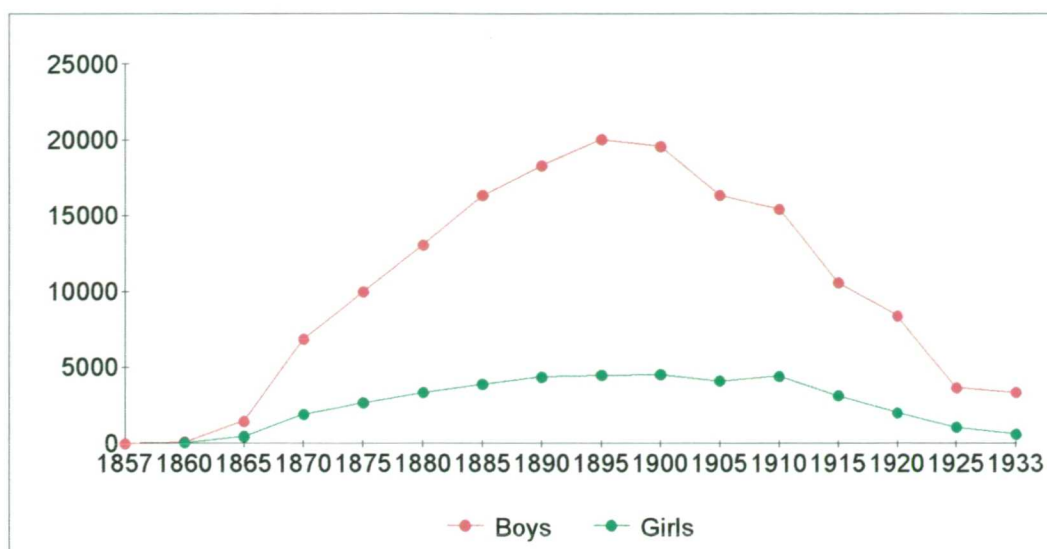
In 1862 591 children were committed nationally to industrial schools. Of these 52 per cent had family difficulties; 2 per cent were illegitimate; 10 per cent had been deserted; 5 per cent were orphans; 30 per cent had lost one parent; and 5 per cent had a parent in gaol. This left just 48 per cent of children whom we can assume had both parents alive and in a position to look after them.²⁷ During 1870 a smaller proportion were similarly placed: 26 per cent. Of the 2,599 children admitted, only 689 had both parents living; 164 or 6 per cent were illegitimate; 340 or 13 per cent had been deserted; 398 or 15 per cent, were orphans; 843 or 33 per cent, had only one parent living; whilst 165 or 6 per cent, had one or both parents who were criminal.²⁸ This seems to have left a particularly low number of children who had been sent to the schools whose parents were both alive and in a position to look after them, but these figures are backed up by the Home Office inspector, Sydney Turner, reporting in 1869, who stated that three quarters of the children admitted had lost either one or both parents.²⁹

By 1881, however, the position had changed. Of the 4,250 children sent to industrial schools in 1882, 195 or 4.5 per cent were illegitimate; 215 or 5 per cent had been deserted; 189 or 4 per cent were orphans; 57 or one per cent had parents in prison.³⁰ The figures for 1881 do not include a figure for children who had lost one parent. Assuming this was the average figure of 32 per cent this would have meant a total of 46.5 per cent of children with family difficulties and leave 53.5 per cent of children with both parents alive.

As has been mentioned earlier, the 1880 Industrial Schools Amendment Act provided for the admission of children living with prostitutes. In 1894 a total of 3,117 boys and 925 girls were committed to industrial schools, a ratio of one girl to every three boys. Of the 242 children committed under the 1880 Act, just 102 were boys compared to 140 girls, demonstrating a greater use of the 1880 Act for girls.³¹ If the numbers sent under this act are taken out of the equation, the ratio of boys to girls reverts to the more usual one girl to every four boys. The proportion of girls to boys continued to see a temporary growth during the 1890s but thereafter followed a similar pattern to that of boys. The numbers sent under the 1880 Act were not very great and do not appear to have materially affected the general trend of admissions. Figure 3.4 shows the admission figures for boys and girls and demonstrates the latter were steadier.

Figure 3.4

**BOYS AND GIRLS ADMISSIONS TO INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS
1857-1933**



(These figures are taken from the Reports of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the Home Office Reports of the Work of the Children's Branch.)

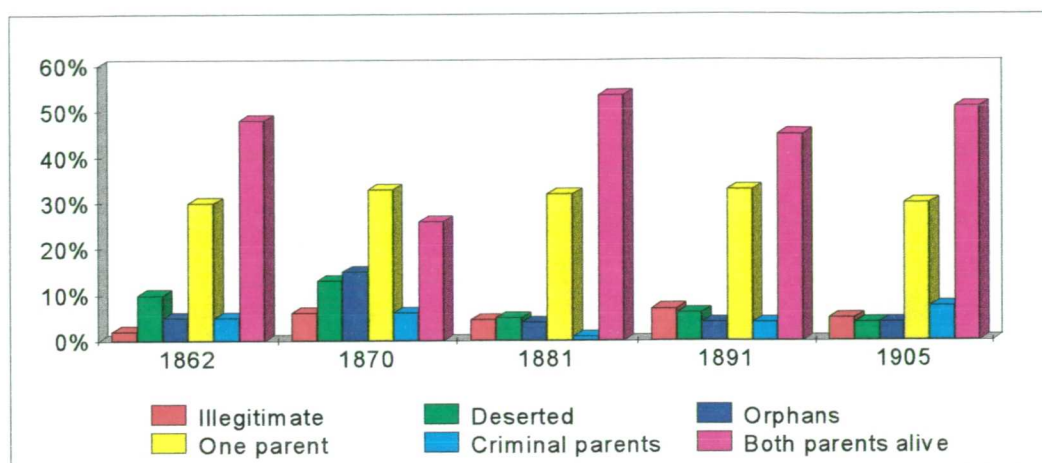
The number of children sent because they were living with prostitutes appears to have declined. In 1894, 7.5 per cent of children were committed under the 1880 Act, while in 1921 just 3 per cent were sent on the grounds that they were living in brothels. Special schools had been set up to care for girls whose antecedents were such that it was considered best that they should not mix with other girls and who were considered to be 'so sorely in need of all the care and sympathetic treatment which is now bestowed on them'. In 1913 there were five such industrial schools and two reformatory schools, but there were generally fewer children in these schools than in other schools.³²

By 1891 the overall admissions seem to have reverted to nearer the situation that existed in 1862. There were 4,328 admissions of whom 54 per cent had problem family backgrounds: 7 per cent were illegitimate; 6 per cent had been deserted; 4 per cent were orphans; 33 per cent had lost one parent and 4 per cent had a parent in prison leaving 46 per cent of children with both parents alive and able to look after them.³³ The figures for 1905 showed there were slightly more committed children with criminal parents, 7.5 per cent, and slightly fewer who had only one parent.³⁴ To facilitate the interpretation of these figures for the grounds for admission for the years 1862, 1870, 1881, 1891 and 1905, they have been transferred to a chart, figure 3.5. They appear to show that there was a range of from 26 to 48 per cent of children with both parents alive, whilst 52 to 74 per cent had family difficulties, such as parents in prison, the children were illegitimate, orphaned or deserted or had only one parent.

One particularly consistent figure over the whole period is that for children with only one parent, which averaged a third of the children.

Figure 3.5

ESTIMATED AVERAGE FAMILY CIRCUMSTANCES (National - 1862-1905)

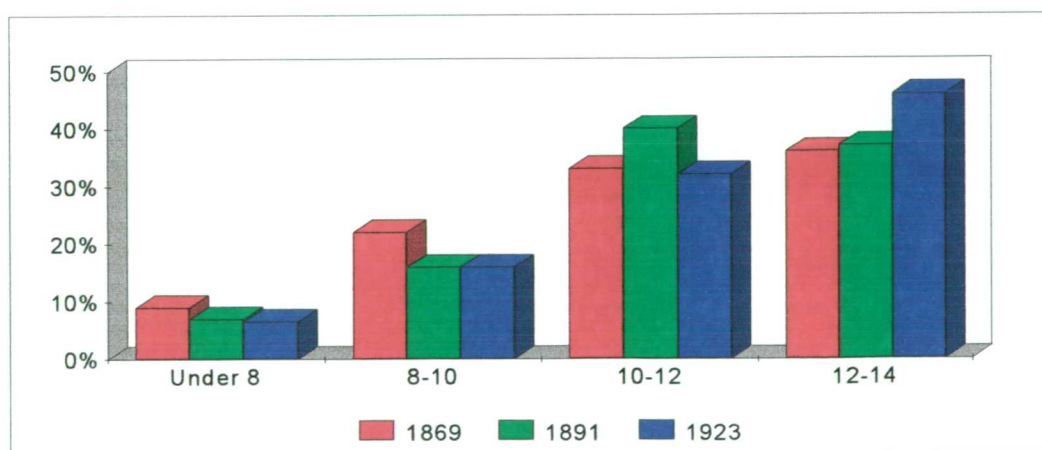


(These figures are taken from the Reports of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools)

The ages of children in industrial schools have been similarly extracted for the years 1869, 1891 and 1923 and are shown in figure 3.6. They show that although there was a small variation in the age range of the children sent to the schools most of the children were aged from 10 to 14 on admission.

Figure 3.6

ESTIMATED AGES ON ADMISSION (National)



(These figures are shown as a percentage and are based on figures taken from the appropriate reports of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools and the Children's Branch)

INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS ADMISSIONS

Having examined the available national statistics this chapter now looks at the practical experiences of several individual schools.

Feltham Industrial School

The Feltham Industrial School described itself as an industrial school but was set up to cater for the more criminal type of child usually associated with reformatory schools. M.A. Spielman, writing in 1920, considered that because the school only admitted convicted children, it should have been referred to as a reformatory school. The Feltham school did not take any voluntary admissions. The children were all committed either under the Middlesex Act or under other legislation related to industrial schools. The aim of the Middlesex magistrates act was 'to make Provision for the Care, Reformation and Education of Juvenile Offenders in the County of Middlesex' and the children that the magistrates sent were of the more criminal type for whom many considered reformatory schools more suitable.³⁵

In 1862 the Home Office inspector reported:

The vagrant and mendicant boys of the metropolis may be sufficiently provided for by the County of Middlesex Industrial School at Feltham though the commitment to this of lads who have been convicted of housebreaking etc. and are recognised as having been repeatedly in prison, would seem to make it a very unfit institution for industrial school cases properly so called to be sent to.³⁶

Whilst other early schools were experiencing small numbers of committed admissions the Middlesex magistrates saw it as their duty to fill the school and 109 boys were admitted when it opened on 1st January 1859.³⁷ Feltham altered its early admissions policy of just taking children under its own act and the school became certified to take 700 children under the 1866 Industrial Schools Act. In 1867 371 children were admitted, 216 under that act, 155 under the Middlesex Act while 40 boys who had been admitted under the Middlesex Act were transferred to the Industrial Schools Act.

The proportion of children sent for begging, destitution or vagrancy grew and whilst the figure averaged six per cent during the period from 1859 to 1864, it rose to 20 per cent in 1865, 32 per cent in 1866 and to 48 per cent in 1867.³⁸ However this was still below the national average number of children sent on these grounds, which for this period is estimated at 60 per cent. In 1867 the school recognised that as well as the criminal and frequently convicted lad they had been receiving, they were also being sent destitute children whose destitution, in nine cases out of ten, was caused by the brutal indifference or drunkenness of their parents. The proportion of these boys dropped considerably towards the end of the century and by the 1890s the admission register records that many of the boys who had previously been sent to Feltham were

going to truant schools although Feltham was still taking boys who could not go anywhere else other than a reformatory or a prison. In 1899 the school complained that because more lenient London magistrates were remanding children to the workhouses for a period of time and subsequently allowed them to return to their friends, by the time that most of the boys were admitted to Feltham they had already been charged with an offence once or twice. It seems therefore that Feltham was having to deal with boys with increasingly more serious problems. Of the 75 boys admitted in 1901 just two had been sent for begging, six for wandering, two were uncontrollable and the majority, 65, had been charged with offences punishable by imprisonment.³⁹

Feltham was established to help boys from the age of seven to 14, and in 1871 nine of the 18 children sent by the LSB between 8 June and 3 October, were aged under 12.⁴⁰ However by 1894 it was only admitting those over the age of 10.⁴¹

The Middlesex Chronicle described some of the children who had been sent to the school in 1858:

James W. White of...Chiswick was charged on remand with begging by turning somersaults in the public highway at Ealing and a previous conviction having been proved against him for theft, he was ordered to be sent to Feltham Industrial School.

John Doyle, Emma Doyle and their two children were charged with begging from house to house in Bath Road, Hounslow. The man was sentenced to two months hard labour; the mother and girl were discharged and the boy was sent to Feltham Industrial school.

Henry James P...aged 13 of...Brentford, was charged with fraudulently appropriating a quantity of roses value 5s.8d the property of William Steel, Market Gardener. The lad's father stated that the boy had recently run away from home and stayed away for 10 days. The Bench ordered the boy to be sent to Feltham Industrial School.

Alfred Shepherd a boy about 12 years of age was charged with stealing some sweets from the shop window of a poor woman in Twickenham. The father states that he had no control over the boy and the court decided that this was a *proper case for the Reformatory School*. The sentence was three years confinement at Feltham and an order was made upon the father to contribute 2/6d a week towards the maintenance of the boy.⁴²

The Hampstead Petty Sessions of 1867 included a typical case of two children who were sent to Feltham: 'George Jennings aged 12 and Frederick William King aged 11 were sent to Feltham Industrial School both being in the frequent company of thieves'.⁴³

Difficult boys could be transferred to Feltham from other industrial schools, for example in 1878 the Boys' Farm Home arranged to send John Parsons, who had originally been committed in Westminster on 28 May 1876, and sent to the Boys'

Home. He had absconded twice and been caught pilfering and the managers felt he needed more 'coercive' treatment than they could give him.

Responsibility for running the school was transferred to the London County Council in 1889 and a special sub-committee was formed to run Feltham and the Mayford Industrial School in Surrey. In 1904 the special committee was abolished and the schools came under the education committee's special schools sub-committee. Feltham closed in 1909 following the passing of the 1908 Children Act which had restricted the size of industrial schools to 200 children. At that time Feltham was the largest school in the country.

Park Row Industrial School, Bristol

Park Row was never a large school. It was certified for 50 boys in June 1859 and by the end of the first year just 15 boys were there. The 1861 census listed 36 boys; and that for 1871 86 boys. At first both voluntary and committed children were taken but unusually the managers of the Park Row school decided in 1862 not to continue taking voluntary cases because it was felt the lack of compulsory attendance of the voluntary boys made the committed boys restless.⁴⁴ Of the 15 boys sent in 1859, seven had been committed by magistrates and the remaining eight were admitted voluntarily. The following year 11 boys were sent under sentence and ten were voluntary boys. The majority of the early voluntary cases were children who were beyond the control of their families, who paid a contribution towards their keep of 3/- or 4/- a week. Of the ten boys committed in 1860, three were committed for stealing and the remainder were destitute (three of these coming from the workhouse). Three were described as 'notoriously, wild, pilfering boys' and the other seven as 'neglected' and 'morally destitute'.⁴⁵ Of the 107 boys committed from 1864 to 1868, 44 had only one parent living and seven were orphans. This is a higher proportion than was shown to be the case nationally.⁴⁶

The ages of the boys listed in the 1861 census ranged from eight to 15; with just one eight year old and one boy aged 15, the ages of the remainder being spread fairly evenly between them. Most of the boys had been born in the Bristol area. Those who had been born elsewhere came mainly from districts with ports such as Cardiff, Greenwich and Liverpool. Two boys had been born in Ireland and one in France. It was more probable that the parents had come to Bristol to work on the docks rather than that the children had been sent to the Bristol school from outside the area.

The Boys' Home, Euston Road (later Regents Park Road)

This school was established to help the type of boy of 'tender years vagrant, destitute and disorderly who through want of a home would become criminal' but it did not take children who had actually been convicted of a crime.⁴⁷ Most of the boys

admitted during the first few years were voluntary cases. The first boy was sent by the Master of the Grotto Passage Refuge, because he was too young for them. He was 13 years old, as was the second boy. Other boys were sent from ragged schools.

As well as the voluntary children sent by ragged schools and refuges, other children had been sent as voluntary cases by clergymen or philanthropic individuals. Mrs William Gladstone was responsible for sending at least one boy to the school and as with many of the people who asked for a boy's admission, contributed towards the cost of his keep. The school continued to take a proportion of voluntary cases alongside those committed under the industrial schools legislation and education acts.

Like those of the Park Row school, the managers were initially disappointed with the number of boys committed by magistrates. Only two boys were committed to the school under the 1857 Act. Nevertheless, within a year of opening demand was such that an extra house was added to the home and 50 boys had been admitted. By 1871 there were 67 children at the new premises in Regent's Park Road, and by 1881 this had grown to 88.⁴⁸ In May 1911 of the 134 boys at the school, 24 were voluntary cases, 10 boys were out on licence and the remainder were committed cases⁴⁹ and the total number of boys that had been sent to the school since its opening was 1,614.⁵⁰

The 1861 Newcastle Commission's Report gave details of six boys admitted to the Boys' Home. Just two boys had been committed under the Industrial Schools Act. One had been dismissed from the Shoe-Black Brigade for unsteadiness, three had been attending ragged schools and one irregularly, a National school. The home mainly took boys who had lost at least one parent and all of these boys had lost their fathers and one had also lost his mother. Two of the boys were described as follows:

M.S. (15 years), was pointed out to Mr Bell by the master of...Ragged Day School. He was then 'on the streets' but was noted as an industrious boy, eager to work, but useless for want of education. His father was dead, and his mother had married again, and had a family. They were wretchedly poor, and the step-father ill-treated this boy, and forced him to lead a vagabond life.

D.C. (12 years) son of a widow with 7 children; Irish. One of the best boys in the school. Sent under the terms of the Industrial Schools Act, by magistrate at police court, having been brought up for unlawful

possession of a pewter pot. Had received no education; he could neither read, write, nor even wash himself; was nearly starved; and so grossly ignorant that the theft, if proved, could hardly be held to be a moral offence.⁵¹

It was the school's policy to take in boys from the age of six but most of the boys were aged between 12 and 15.⁵² The 1861 census showed 49 children whose average age was 11 years. It recorded the places of birth of the majority of these boys as the London area but one had been born in India and another in China; which suggests that their father could have been in the services. One boy had been born in Norfolk, another in Hampshire and two in Ireland. The children's place of birth continued to be have been mostly in the London area, but a few had been born further afield with one boy from Devon and another from Scotland. In 1911 the manager, R.H. Glanfield, reported to the Government's departmental committee on reformatory and industrial schools that between 80 per cent and 90 per cent of the boys came from the LCC area.⁵³

From its inception the LSB had sent boys to the Boys' Home. In 1894 the Board gave a grant of £300 towards the cost of improvements and rebuilding part of the premises in return for an undertaking to keep 80 places for the Board's use. It would therefore seem that at this time the LSB sent the majority of the children who attended the school.

The Boys' Home contrasted with Feltham in that it was a much smaller school, more in keeping with the numbers admitted to the majority of industrial schools. Unlike Feltham it admitted both voluntary and committed children who were primarily in need of care. Whilst an increasing proportion of boys were committed at the instigation of the LSB it continued to admit some voluntary boys until its closure in 1922.

The Boys' Farm Home, Church Farm, East Barnet

The managers were very selective in the type of boys they accepted. Lt. Col. Gillum, the founder, wrote in an appeal letter in January 1866 that the boys who were admitted to the school were vagrant, destitute boys who had not been convicted of crime but were in great danger of being led astray if nothing was done for them. Another of 1879 reported that the school was 'open to children of poor widows or whose fathers from lunacy or blindness or other exceptional causes were unable to give them a good training'.⁵⁴ Boys with both parents living were not very often admitted unless one was disabled or incurably ill. The children of dissolute or drunken parents were usually excluded nor would the school admit children who had been convicted.

From the opening of the home in 1860 until its certification in 1863, only voluntary cases were taken. Only one of the first ten boys for whom information is available, was actually committed to the home under the Industrial Schools Act and this was done under Section 16. The remainder were admitted voluntarily, although at least one was described as a semi-criminal who was not prosecuted in return for his voluntary admission to Church Farm. Three other boys were described as 'the terror of the neighbourhood' and only one orphaned boy was described as 'respectable'.⁵⁵

The number of voluntary cases grew slightly over the next 15 years but fell sharply in the mid 1890s. At that time there was a considerable drop in the amount of voluntary contributions and the managers had to take in a higher proportion of committed and school board cases which brought in grants. The managers pledged that they would reverse the situation should the condition of their funds improve. Voluntary boys were still being admitted, but wherever possible they were sponsored, usually by the person who had requested their admission. The 1896 annual report showed that 55 of the 84 children had been committed and just 29 were voluntary.⁵⁶ A small proportion of voluntary cases continued to be admitted until 1933. It was the last school to do so. The managers liked to take voluntary cases and John Bowden told the Government's 1897 Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee that having voluntary boys improved the tone of the school. He gave as an example of the high standard of the children at his school, the case of one boy who was the great grandson of an admiral.

The Boys' Farm Home particularly favoured taking in children who were either orphaned or had lost one parent. Of the first ten boys for whom admission records survive three were orphaned, three had lost their fathers, one his mother, the father of one was described as a lunatic and another blind; only one had what were described as 'decent parents' and he was too young to be prosecuted for the petty thieving which he had been doing.

From 1870 the London School Board was the main body that sent children to the school although some children were sent by boards of guardians. In 1876 the Board sent 31 boys, six other boys had been committed under the 1866 Industrial Schools Act and 42 were voluntary cases.⁵⁷ By 1894 of the 50 boys who had been committed 45 had been sent by the London School Board.⁵⁸

The 1861 census shows nine boys resident at the home and most of these had been born in London with only three coming from adjacent counties. Their ages ranged from 10 to 16, with three 10 year olds; two aged 11; three 15 year olds and one aged 16. By the 1871 census 57 boys were listed and of these only 30 had been born in London and Middlesex, one in Hertfordshire; two in Oxfordshire; one in Dorset; one in Gloucestershire, two in Sussex, two Lincolnshire, four Kent, three

Essex, one Berkshire, one Buckinghamshire and three in the Isle of Wight. The youngest boy was aged 11 years and there were three 16 year olds. Otherwise their ages were fairly evenly spread. None of the boys had been sent by school boards since that avenue had yet to be opened up.

The managers had a policy of trying to keep an even balance of children by having only 16 boys of any particular age. In 1876 there were 15 boys aged 10 to 12; 50 were aged 12 to 15 and eight over the age of 15.⁵⁹ Col. Gillum wrote in a letter to *The Times* dated 14 April 1866 that the home did not only take boys aged between 10 and 15 years of age but had admitted some aged seven and one aged 16.

In 1894 the acting secretary of the Hackney Committee of the Charity Organisation Society (COS), wrote asking if a Percy Walsingham, aged eight, could be admitted at the lowest possible charge. His father was reputed to be a very bad man given to drink and the mother had been forced to leave him and take a job, but with other children to support would be unable to keep him. The COS stated that they would be able to raise some money, but did not specify how much. Nevertheless their application was refused. This may have been because his father drank which would have been in line with the school's policy but other applications were turned down at the same time because of lack of vacancies.

Sometimes an exception was made concerning the admission of boys whose parents drank. Case no 148 is described below:

A good, but weak and delicate man, had the misfortune to have a wife who fell into most aggravated intemperance. She became at last such a terrible drunkard that her elder sons would no longer live in the same house with her; and they (young men of 18 and 19 years old) offered to their clergyman to pay each a shilling a week towards the cost of their little brother's maintenance, if he could be placed in some decent school out of the way of his mother. The clergyman wrote to the Managers of Church Farm to know if they would allow the child to be sent to them. They consented, and they have no reason to regret it. He is now in his 22nd year, and is earning an honest living and leading, we believe, a Christian life.⁶⁰

Voluntary admissions frequently came from individuals concerned about a boy's welfare. Applications for admission were often accompanied by a promise to make a donation. In 1915, a private sponsor, Alice M. Cowland, signed an agreement to pay £10 annually for six years in return for the admission to the home of Douglas Stuart Davidson. A local doctor, Dr. Laseron of Tottenham, asked the committee to take in Henry Mortlock, an orphan, who was dependent upon his brother-in-law who was himself poor and dying of consumption. He was admitted and stayed at the home until 1873, when aged nearly 16.

Although not a particularly big school, Church Farm did help a large number of children because of the length of time that it operated. By the time it became an approved school under the 1933 Approved School Act, approximately 1,350 boys had attended the home.⁶¹

The Stockport Industrial School

This school had developed from a ragged day school, originally founded in 1854 in Bridgefield. It was intended for children who were between the pauper and criminal child, who were vagrant, or disorderly. It reluctantly became certified as an industrial school in 1866 for 150 children because it needed government finance. It was a mixed school at first, but stopped taking girls in 1876. In 1866 it had 44 children on its books, 90 in 1871 and 165 in 1879.⁶² In 1878, when there were 199 children at the school, 30 per cent were orphans, 30 per cent had no father, 20 per cent no mother and just 20 per cent had both parents alive.⁶³ As well as the local magistrates, school boards sent children to the school. The LSB sent 12 boys in 1877 and 34 in 1878.⁶⁴

The annual report for 1867 gives the following examples of the types of children admitted.

- Case no. 1. Beyond control - steals fruit from gardens will not work, will not go to school - sleeps in the streets at night
- Case no 2. Family maintained by keeping a house for the reception of stolen property - boy charged with felony three times.
- Case no. 3. Will not attend school - steals anything he can lay his hands on.
- Case no. 4. Illegitimate - mother in gaol.
- Case no. 5. Companion of thieves
- Case no. 6. Father drunk, mother crafty and deceitful
- Case no. 7. Mother lives in a brothel, been before magistrates for felony.
- Case no. 8. Lazy, insubordinate, unmanageable.⁶⁵

The Stockport school survived the reorganisation of 1933 to become the Offerton Approved School.

CONCLUSION

Industrial schools were founded primarily for the education and training of vagrant, destitute or disorderly children, although Feltham was set up to deal with the more criminal children. By 1933 the vagrant and destitute children who had formed the majority of the early admissions, were being replaced by children charged with offences. This could be because the number of street children had actually diminished, thus reducing the proportion of their numbers. Another explanation might be that industrial schools were taking in the children who had previously been

sent to reformatory schools and prisons, or the changes could be due to a combination of the two reasons.

The overall number of children increased up to the end of the nineteenth century but then fell. Over the whole period voluntary admissions declined as a percentage of the whole, although actual numbers varied from school to school. This was influenced by financial considerations, since only committed children qualified for government support. As the range of children who could receive financial assistance through government legislation increased and charitable gifts were more difficult to obtain there was an inevitable shift in the ratio of the two types of cases. The number of destitute children living on the streets and needing the help of industrial schools appears to have decreased significantly. Social conditions had improved and when free elementary education was finally introduced for all children it kept even the poorest children out of harms way.

The introduction of school boards brought a further layer of supervision and care of children and the increase in committed cases produced a greater involvement by school boards and the government. Despite school boards having a particular interest in truant and day industrial schools, they were nonetheless involved in sending many children to residential industrial schools. A third of all children came from single parent families, regardless of the reasons for their admission. This set of circumstances remained consistent throughout.

There was a small increase in the proportion of older children, but their ages do not appear to have changed significantly. The 1857 Act had covered children aged between seven and 14 but the 1866 Act removed the lower age limit. Nevertheless the industrial school system does not generally seem to have been used for young children who, if admitted at all would be sent to the one or two schools established for that purpose. This is not something with which John Hurt would agree for he wrote 'Thus a two- or three-year old could find himself in the same institution as and at the mercy of, much older children sent by their parents or workhouse officials as uncontrollable, or those picked up as beggars or as destitute'.⁶⁶ Technically this was possible, but it does not seem to have happened in practice. No records of cases of very young children being sent to ordinary certified industrial schools have been found amongst the material researched for this thesis.

Notes

- ¹According to the 1929 Charities Register the only industrial school (out of a total of 56 schools) still receiving voluntary children, was the Boys' Farm Home.
- ²Scottish magistrates had taken the initiative of sending children to day industrial schools before the introduction of legislation
- ³Reports of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England (Newcastle Commission) - PP 1861 Vol. III p. 383
- ⁴The Industrial Schools Act (1857) - 20 & 21 Vic Cap XLVIII
- ⁵The Reformatory Schools Act (1854) - 17 & 18 Vic Cap LXXXVI
- ⁶The Industrial Schools Amendment Act (1861) - 24 & 25 Vic Cap CXIII
- ⁷The Prevention of Crime Act (1871) - 34 & 35 Vic Cap CXII
- ⁸The Industrial Schools Amendment Act (1880) - 43 & 44 Vic Cap XV
- ⁹The Children Act (1908) - 7 & 8 Edw Cap LXVII
- ¹⁰The Criminal Law Amendment Act (1885) - 48 & 49 Vic Cap XLIX
- ¹¹Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education - PP 1861 XLIX.L1 pp. 485, 486
- ¹²5th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1862 XXVI p 19
- ¹³5th, 6th, 9th and 14th Reports of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1861 XXX (2874) p. 24, PP 1862 XXVI (3034) p. 24, PP 1865 XXV (3527) p. 24, PP 1871 XXVII (373) p. 19
- ¹⁴3rd Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1925) Table VII p. 65
- ¹⁵Ibid. Table III p. 56
- ¹⁶5th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1938) p. 140
- ¹⁷The Industrial Schools Amendment Act (1866) - 29 & 30 Vic Cap CXVIII
- ¹⁸Parliamentary Return of all Industrial Schools certified under 24 & 25 Vic Cap 113 - PP 1862 XLIII (248)
- ¹⁹B. Elliott, 'School Boards and Industrial Schools' *History of Education* (1978) vol. 22 p.42
- ²⁰Final Report of the London School Board (London 1904) p. 34
- ²¹Boys' Farm Home - Admission Records
- ²²Parliamentary Return of all Industrial Schools certified under 24 & 25 Vic Cap 113 - PP 1862 XLIII (248) There was unsufficient information provided on the remaining 11 per cent.
- ²³Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 XLV (8204) p. 9
- ²⁴1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1923) Table VI p.

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²⁵39th Report of the Inspector of Prisons Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1891 (8184) XLV p. 31

²⁶4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1926) p. 74

²⁷6th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1863 (3193) XXIV p. 14

²⁸14th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1871 (373) XXVIII p. 19

²⁹13th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1870 (170) XXXVI p. 23

³⁰Report of the Royal Commission on the Management and Condition of Certified
Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1884 (3876) XLV.1 p. xlii

³¹Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1896 (8204) XLV p. 9

³²57th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools
1914-16 (7776) XXXIV p. 7

³³35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1892 (6733) XLII

³⁴48th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP
1905 (2508) XXXVIII

³⁵An Act for the Provision, Regulation and Maintenance of County Industrial Schools
in Middlesex - 17 & 18 Vic Cap CLXIX

³⁶6th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1863 (3193) XXIV pp. 14, 15

³⁷G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c. 1979) p. 6

³⁸Table prepared for Feltham School (MA/GS/8/16)

³⁹Admission Records 1901 (MA/GS/10)

⁴⁰1st Report of the London School Board (1871) p. 281

⁴¹Report of the Industrial Schools Committee of the London School Board (London
1894) Table A(2) p. 2

⁴²G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c. 1979) pp. 5, 6

⁴³Hampstead Petty Sessions (1867) pp. 78, 96, 179

⁴⁴*Park Row Certified Industrial School* (Bristol 1875) p. 4

⁴⁵*Ibid.* p. 5

⁴⁶*Ibid.* pp. 43, 44

⁴⁷The Boys' Home Industrial School - 1st Annual Report (1860) p. 11

⁴⁸Census figures 1871 and 1881

⁴⁹The Boys' Home Industrial School - Annual Report (1912) p. 12

⁵⁰Ibid. p. 4

⁵¹Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England - PP 1861 (2974-I-VI) XXXI p. 383

⁵²Final Report of the Late School Board for London (1904) Section XIX pp. 210, 271

⁵³Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools Evidence of R.H. Glanfield - PP 1913 (6839) XXXIX p. 143

⁵⁴The Boys' Farm Home Appeal Letter (1879) - Boys' Farm Home Papers

⁵⁵Boys' Farm Home - Admission Records

⁵⁶Boys' Farm Home Report (1896) p. 7

⁵⁷Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1876) pp. 7, 8

⁵⁸Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1894) p. 8 and the Report of the Industrial Schools Committee of the LSB (1894) Table E(1) p. 38

⁵⁹Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1876) p. 8

⁶⁰Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1879) p. 10

⁶¹Boys' Farm Home - Annual Reports (1914 and 1933)

⁶²*The Stockport Ragged & Industrial School* Table 26 p. 284

⁶³Ibid. Table 28 p. 288

⁶⁴Ibid. p. 303

⁶⁵Ibid. p. 288

⁶⁶J.S. Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools Before 1933' *History of Education* 1984 vol. 13 no. 1 p. 49

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDERS AND MANAGERS

In general those concerned in the foundation of schools were also involved in their subsequent management. Occasionally founders went on to manage schools alone but more usually a management committee was formed. Inevitably as time went by these founders retired or died in office and new managers took their places. Whilst the exact role that these people played may have varied from school to school, in all cases it would have involved decisions on the type and location of the school, the building itself, the range and suitability or otherwise of children to be admitted, the appointment of staff, as well as all the financial aspects of setting up the school. Once schools were established the managers would have continued to carry out these responsibilities. This chapter investigates the founders and managers and examines their motives, aims and objectives as well as their level of involvement in the schools' day to day running.

From 1857 to 1933 more than 270 schools became certified as industrial schools in England and Scotland. Some of these were day industrial schools, some truant schools, while others were special schools for both physically and mentally handicapped children. The large majority, about 84 per cent, however were residential industrial schools which included four ship schools and several farm schools.

Founders and managers seem to fall into four main groups: independent individuals, local magistrates acting as a body, religious groups and school boards. Each group had characteristics of its own but there was some overlapping and over a period of time schools could come under different forms of management. Members of independent committees could also be JPs or clergymen and many schools that began as voluntary initiatives later came under the management of local education authorities (LEAs) or societies. It was generally the school boards and LEAs that founded and ran the truant and day industrial schools. By 1923, when the number of schools was declining, of the 99 industrial schools then in existence 74 were still under voluntary management and the remainder were run by the LEAs.¹ The Home Office considered that all schools run by individuals, societies and religious bodies were 'voluntary' and it was their policy to allow this voluntary management to continue as long as managers ran the schools effectively. However, the increasing contribution from government funds inevitably meant greater government participation.

Since the archives of many certified industrial schools have failed to survive it is not always possible to establish who founded them or who their managers were. Records of schools run by bodies such as magistrates or schools boards rather than

those founded by independent individuals, appear to be more likely to have survived. However from the information that is available the writer has calculated that the founders of industrial schools divided into the four groups already referred to, in approximately the following proportions:

53 per cent	-	independent individuals and their friends
3 per cent	-	magistrates
33 per cent	-	religious groups
10 per cent	-	local education authorities
1 per cent	-	others

These figures relate to the number of schools rather than the number of children, which varied from school to school. They ranged from the Feltham school, which had over 700 boys, to Park Row with just 50 boys. It appears that the smaller schools were more likely to have been run by the independent voluntary individuals and the largest schools by magistrates. The person or group responsible for founding a school was not necessarily responsible for its continued management. Frequently as voluntary funds largely disappeared schools were taken over by societies such as the Waifs' and Strays' Society or by LEAs. Each group of founders and managers had similar characteristics and it will be useful to look at them separately.

GROUP 1 - INDEPENDENT MANAGERS

This group were most active in the early years of industrial schools. In 1884, when government commissioners looked into the running of industrial and reformatory schools, they reported that the former were usually managed by an unofficial body of governors similar to voluntary elementary schools. However unlike elementary school managers, those of industrial schools were not usually elected but were appointed by the founder from amongst his friends and acquaintances, or subsequently by current managers. They were usually appointed without any time limit being set on their term of office, which tended to be long with their leaving often a consequence of old age or death.

The 1884 commissioners recommended that these voluntary managers be allowed as much freedom as possible, provided the schools met the criteria that allowed them to receive government grants. The assistant inspector of industrial schools, Mr Henry Rogers, preferred schools to be managed by voluntary committees or county magistrates, whose interest was likely to continue longer than that of management committees appointed from elected and therefore changing local authorities, providing consistent long-term supervision of the schools. The commissioners were against the idea of central management because it would result in a lack of personal care and interest. They also welcomed the financial contribution made by the voluntary sector. The commissioners recommended that managers

should meet monthly, appoint weekly visitors and that women should sit on the management committees as well as act as visitors. They considered that to maintain high standards schools should come under the close scrutiny of government inspectors. The government had little influence on the choice of early voluntary managers but increased government financial support enabled growing pressure to be brought to bear.

Financial support for children sent by outside bodies was often conditional on representation on the schools' management committees. By 1911 government opinion regarding the value of voluntary managers was changing. Many of the early idealistic pioneers of voluntary industrial schools had died and elementary education had become accepted as a right for all children and as a government responsibility. A departmental committee appointed to look into reformatory and industrial schools reported in 1913 that whilst good managers took an active interest in schools, in some areas they were difficult to find, committees met rarely and were not very active. The committee recommended the grant or continuation of a certificate should depend on the management committee's being properly constituted, having women members, meeting at least quarterly and with at least one member visiting the school each month. They also felt that the government should be able to nominate a member.

The 1923 Home Office Report on the Work of the Children's Branch maintained that where management was found to be effective, it was best left to the voluntary sector. However the report suggested that most management committees would benefit from the introduction of new members, which happened automatically when schools were run by local authorities, with municipal elections resulting in the addition of new members to the committees. The need for an adequate proportion of women managers in boys' schools as well as girls' schools continued to be emphasised. Towards the end of the schools' existence, the system of voluntary management was being more heavily criticised. Whether this was because the quality of education for all children and ideas about the rights of children had improved or whether there was a real lowering of standards needs further investigation.

The Chesterton Industrial School

As stated in Chapter II the Chesterton school was a particularly early industrial school despite being somewhat different to the majority of the schools that followed and not being certified until much later. Its foundation was at the instigation of a group of concerned individuals who met in 1847 to try to solve the problem of boys loitering in the streets of Cambridge's outlying parishes. The aim was to establish a school which would provide an atmosphere of 'good moral influence' for boys between the ages of 13 and 18, too old for the national school but without jobs.² It was not seen as a long term alternative for the boys but more of a stop gap

between school and work, providing some education as well as industrial training. The following resolutions were passed at the meeting.

- (1) That the University and Town of Cambridge ought to be foremost in promoting any scheme of Education, which may appear likely to be generally beneficial.
- (2) That it would be very beneficial to the poorer classes, if some industrial occupation were added to their usual course of instruction.
- (3) That in order to introduce this principle, it is desirable to establish an Industrial School, for the benefit of the Town of Cambridge.
- (4) That the following gentlemen be requested to act as a Committee.
[There followed a list of people both from the colleges and the town.]³

A provisional committee was authorised to obtain a site for the school and the erection of buildings but it was at a further meeting of subscribers held on 31 October 1848 that the all male management committee was appointed. The committee had eight members of whom four had served on the provisional committee set up in 1847. This school was not typical in its choice of managers. Because of its links with the Cambridge colleges, it had a high proportion of academics, many of whom rose to influential positions. Four were fellows, and one a former fellow, of a Cambridge college and of these five, four had been ordained. One of the other members was a colonel.

The process of appointing new managers was different from most voluntary schools. The school had an annual meeting of subscribers and friends under the chairmanship of the mayor, to whom the management committee offered a report. The names of the committee for the subsequent year were confirmed at this meeting but any vacancies which arose during the year could be filled by people chosen by the committee themselves.

One manager was Harvey Goodwin, who had been a junior fellow of Gonville and Caius College, when as a voluntary worker in St Giles' parish he became involved in the setting up of the school. In 1859 he was appointed Dean of Ely and was Bishop of Carlisle from 1869 to 1891. Goodwin had been born in 1818 in Crosthwaite, Keswick, the second son of Charles Goodwin a solicitor of King's Lynn and attended a school in High Wycombe. He continued his interest in the Chesterton school until his death in 1891 and the school was renamed after him in 1894.

The Revd Dr H.R. Luard died in the same year and he, too, had long been a supporter of the school, joining the Committee in 1852 and continuing his interest until his death. Henry Richards Luard had been born in London in 1825 and was the eldest son of a West Indian merchant, Henry Luard. He went to school in Cheam, then from 1841 to 1843 attended King's College, London and in 1843 Trinity

College, Cambridge. He continued his studies in Cambridge and was ordained in 1855. He was vicar of Great St Mary's, Cambridge from 1860 to 1887.

The committee established a set of rules which included limiting the number of children to 50, and a charge of 2d per week. Neither of these first two rules seems to have been carried out in practice since the expected numbers did not materialise and those that came had no money. The rules also provided for dinner to be given and outlined a provisional daily time-table. In 1894 this school transferred its management to the Church of England Waifs' and Strays' Society. The school still had a management committee, which by 1903 was larger than the earlier one with 13 members. Its membership was more varied than the earlier committee. It still included two academics and three ministers but this time it had six local lady members as well.

Cambridge had been one of the first towns to found an industrial school and its original form changed somewhat over a period of time. The numbers and ages of the children who attended the school were not quite what the committee had expected. They had not seen a need to provide overnight accommodation; this came later, nor did they expect the boys to stay at the school for any great length of time. However, the report for 1865 stated the manager's aim was to 'reclaim' boys who were 'outcasts' from other schools because of 'vice, or incorrigible idleness, or crime...and set them on the road to industry, honesty and happiness'.⁴ This aim was very much in line with that of other certified industrial schools and the school seems to have been reasonably successful, judging from its annual reports. The objectives of the original committee continued with the transfer of the school to the Church of England Waifs' and Strays' Society in 1894 and the move in 1924 to new buildings. It finally closed in 1980.

Park Row Industrial School

In contrast to the group of people who founded and managed the Chesterton School, some schools arose from an individual's initiative. One such school was the Park Row Industrial School founded by Mary Carpenter in 1858 and certified in June 1859 under the 1857 Act. She had called for 'The establishment of Industrial Schools, with food given, for those children, who through extreme poverty or vice subject themselves to the interference of the police, for their vagrant and pilfering habits; the attendance at these schools should be compulsory on all who will not attend the Free School'.⁵ The school was strongly influenced by her liberal ideals. She refused to consider the children as criminal but more as victims of an inadequate society and deliberately kept the size of the school small in order to create a family atmosphere.

In 1862 she formed a management committee from amongst her family and friends, when her nephew William Lant Carpenter was appointed honorary secretary and Mary's brother-in-law, Herbert Thomas, chairman. The members seem to have been closely involved with the school and were responsible for selecting boys for admission, supervising them on their discharge as well as appointing and dismissing staff and organising outings. The committee met once a month and two members were appointed to act as visitors, attending at different times without notice and reporting their findings to the committee. Mary Carpenter was closely involved with running the school up to her death. She took some of the classes herself and corresponded with the children after they had left. The Bristol local education authority later took over responsibility for managing the school.

Figure 4.1

MARY CARPENTER



From quite early in the school's existence the managers decided to take only children sent by the courts which inevitably meant the most difficult boys. This was unusual, most schools had a number of voluntary children. The success of her methods may be judged by the school's apparent success. In 1869 Lant Carpenter reported to the Social Science Congress that the average percentage of boys discharged in 1865, 1866 and 1867 who were known to be doing well nationally was 53 per cent whereas the Park Row figure for the same period was 73 per cent. The school seems to have kept in closer touch with its old boys than other schools, for the national average percentage for those about whom nothing was known was 34 per cent, compared to the figure for Park Row which was 18 per cent. The success rate for boys from Park Row also appear to have been good. The average of those subsequently convicted of crime was 6 per cent nationally and for Park Row 4 per cent.⁶

The Boys' Home, Euston Road

Two men George Bell, the publisher, and George William Bell, secretary to the Law Fire Insurance Society, were responsible for setting up this home in 1858. The Bells, like Mary Carpenter, held liberal views which were reflected when in 1861 George Bell was quoted as follows:

In having ragged schools the committee felt that their plans and modes of working were deficient in the element which alone can elevate the 'ragged boy to self respect; that is to say his reception into a new home as a member of a 'family', be found education and trained into a future 'working man'. The two great errors into which there has always sprung temptation to fall are first to offer a mere 'refuge' and temporary and therefore practically a useless shelter for the vagrant boy; similarly to utilise the labour of the inmates so thoroughly as to exclude that physical and intellectual education which is due to each boy. We are, we think, as much bound to put bone and muscle and sinew into each boy's body as to put knowledge into their heads; the fear and love of God into their hearts, and some practical and industrial training into their fingers. Any one of these excluded shows a weakness in the system.⁷

Figure 4.2

GEORGE BELL

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



George was born in 1814, the son of Matthew Bell a stationer and bookbinder from Richmond and North Riding, Yorkshire. He came to London in 1832, produced his first publication in 1838 and founded a publishing company. Whilst working in

Fleet Street he met Dr Harvey Goodwin, later Bishop of Carlisle, who had founded the Chesterton Industrial School near Cambridge, referred to earlier in this section and in Chapter II. Dr Goodwin described himself as the 'Grandfather' of the home⁸ and took a continued interest in it. In 1849 George moved to Haverstock Hill, Belsize Park and became a lay reader and was involved in the establishment of the Working Men's Club. In a biography of his father Edward Bell wrote 'my father's dominant and most continuous interest was centred in the institute in Dr Goodwin's letter' i.e. the Boys' Home Regents Park.⁹ George was actively involved in the running of the home and acted as treasurer until his death in 1890.

George William Bell was born in 1822 at 164 Aldersgate Street, London, the son of William and Elizabeth Bell. His father is described first as a merchant and later as an 'official assignee of bankruptcy'. George William attended a school in High Wycombe, that of a Miss Wardle, which may well have been the same one to which Harvey Goodwin went. George William moved to Hampstead following his appointment as secretary of the Soldiers' Daughters' Home, which was founded there by the Central Association for the Wives and Children of Soldiers engaged in the War with Russia.

George William's family were also closely involved with the Boys' Home; his wife and two daughters, Jessie Fearne and Maud Anna, served on the Guild of Lady Visitors and his nephew the Revd Maurice F. Bell served on the management committee. Mrs G.W.Bell also ran an industrial school for girls in Charlotte Street, later called the Maurice Girls' Home, when it was run by Miss Elizabeth J. Bell. This school was taken over by the Waifs' and Strays' Society in 1913.

Figure 4.3

GEORGE WILLIAM BELL

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



Both George Bells lived in Hampstead and travelled together into the city to work. In his book, *Recollections of my Life*, George wrote that it was whilst walking to his friend's house that the idea of establishing the Boys' Home came to him. In 1857 they called a meeting with influential friends, in George's Fleet Street offices (no. 186) where the plan of setting up an industrial school was discussed and a committee formed to set up and run the Boys' Home. George explained to his friends that there were a number of reformatory schools in and around London which dealt with criminal children, and he felt it was time that the same opportunities given to children attending these schools should be available for destitute and vagrant children.

It was decided to set up a school with a management committee with George acting as honorary secretary. It was agreed that premises should be taken in the Euston Road. Other members of that committee included Thomas Hughes (author of *Tom Brown's Schooldays*), the Revd F.D. Maurice (founder of the Working Men's College and Chaplain of Lincoln's Inn and associated with Thomas Hughes and Charles Kingsley in the Christian Socialist Movement), William and George Spottiswode and Lord Goderich (later Marquis of Ripon). Another committee member was the vicar of St Pancras, where the home was first set up, the Revd Thomas Dale, who continued to support the home after it moved to Primrose Hill. Dale appears to have had many roles, for as well as being the vicar of St Pancras, he was the Canon of St Paul's from 1843 to 1870, the rector of Therfield in Hertfordshire from 1861 to 1870 (where he appointed a curate), and a professor of English language and literature at London University. He was finally appointed Dean of Rochester in 1870 and died in May of the same year. Other members were H.G. Butt and the Revd J.W. Beames, whose background it has not been possible to establish.

Early committee meetings seem largely to have been pre-occupied with raising enough money to keep the home running. In the spring of 1859 Thomas Hughes wrote to *The Times* appealing for money and the Revd J. Dale preached a sermon in his church to raise money. An assistant secretary, Mr Thomas Slater, was appointed to act as a collector. The main committee appears to have met about every two months and new members were added including the Revd J.R. Byrne, Alfred Hill, Edward Thornton and Joseph Martineau. The two Georges appear to have attended all meetings whilst other members were more erratic in their attendance.

Three small sub-committees were appointed to supervise various aspects of the running of the home. The first was to supervise the financial side, the second the day to day running and the third was to deal with admissions. By 1890 the management committee was very large having 24 members. These included G. W. Bell's nephew the Revd Maurice F. Bell, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice MP, Octavious

Leefe and Samuel Slater (both of the latter also sat on the Boys' Farm Home Committee) John Martineau of Heckfield, Colonel Everard Milman of Holloway Prison.¹⁰ Of the 24 male members of the committee there were five clergymen, three Army officers, two titled men and one QC. There was also a guild of lady visitors with 18 members and eight members of the former committee formed a house committee.

Some of the members were also involved in the reformatory and industrial schools movement in other ways. The management committee of 1911 was somewhat smaller and had 18 members as well as an honorary treasurer, F.O. Smithers, and an honorary secretary, R.H. Glanfield, who was also a member of the executive council of the Refuge and Reformatory Union and the Children's Aid Society. In that year he gave evidence about the schools running to a government committee investigating reformatory and industrial schools. Judging from the answers to the questions, members of the management committee and he in particular, were continuing to be closely involved in the running of the home. The Revd Maurice F. Bell and the Rt. Hon. Lord Fitzmaurice also still served. There was just one lady member and other members appear to have come from the local community. In his annual report for 1911 the chairman of the management committee wrote:

No body of managers do more than the committee of the Boys' Home, Regent's Park and their efforts have been rewarded this year by a perfectly clean table of results, which means that at the end of 1910 every boy who left the school in the three years are known to be in regular employment, could be communicated with at any moment, and had not got into the hands of the police since leaving the home.¹¹

By 1916 there seem to have been some difficulties in obtaining an effective management committee. In May of that year a letter from Henry Freeman to Mr Edward Bell, asked if he and his brother would join the committee, which Freeman described as being in a very reduced state. The main management committee met monthly at this stage and the executive committee met weekly. Of the 14 names listed three members attended either very irregularly or seldom, three had resigned, five never attended and only three attended regularly. Mr Freeman wrote that what they needed were men who would take an interest in the boys. In 1920 the committee decide to close the school because it was proving difficult to find active managers and the Government's inspector reported that the buildings were no longer adequate and recommended that the school should move out to the country.

The Boys' Farm Home, Church Farm

This school was set up as a subsidiary of the Euston Road school, to provide country skills for suitable boys. Its general aims and system of management

were similar to the London school and some managers were involved with both schools. The prime mover in the founding of the school was a Lt. Col. W.J. Gillum who, with his wife, was closely involved in the management of the school until their deaths in the early part of the twentieth century. In an appeal letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Relief of Small Debtors in January 1866 Gillum described the managers' aims. 'To undo bad habits is our first task, to form good ones is the next, and then to strive to instil those high principles which confirm the good habits and regulate a Christian man's life'.¹²

He headed a management committee which unusually put some limitations on its membership. The management rules of 1876 stated that the committee should be made up of a treasurer and other members who lived either in London or East Barnet.¹³ The committee usually comprised about 11 or 12 members headed by the founder Col. Gillum until his resignation as superintendent and treasurer in 1894 when Mr Arthur Glaisby took over the role of secretary and treasurer.

William James Gillum was born in 1827 in Winchester the son of Widgwood Gillum, described as a 'gentleman' on William's marriage certificate, and Widgwood's first wife, Sarah. William was educated at Midhurst School and served as an officer of the 1st Foot at the siege of Sebastopol. He was badly injured, losing a leg, and was brought back to England to recuperate. He left the Army and subsequently seems to have moved in artistic circles, being a founder member of the Hogarth Club and associated with the Working Men's Club. He was introduced to Dante Gabriel Rossetti by Robert Browning and had painting lessons with Ford Maddox Brown. He was a patron of the pre-Raphaelite group and it was the architect Philip Webb who designed the house Gillum had built at East Barnet on part of the estate he had bought for the Boys' Farm Home, as well as additional buildings for the school.

In 1860 aged 33, he married Leonora Bell the sister of George William Bell. Prior to her marriage Leonora had been involved with another brother, Frederick Hayley Bell, in the running of a home in Hounslow for the same association for helping soldiers' children, of which George William was secretary. Leonora Gillum took a very active role in the Boys' Farm Home and was responsible for keeping in touch with the old boys. Leonora and William lived in East Barnet until 1895 when they moved to their home in central London, at 1 Pembridge Place. Colonel Gillum was still on the management committee in 1908, however, and continued to take an interest in the home until his death in 1910. His widow continued her interest until her death in 1914.

Five trustees were also appointed from the management committee. The main committee was originally entirely made up of men, but a ladies committee was set up and in 1913 two ladies were asked to join the main committee. (One was Leonora

Gillum, the other Mrs Glaisby the wife of a trustee and committee member.) The committee met monthly and considered applications for admission, reported on the financial position, and reviewed the superintendent's report. The managers also dealt with matters relating to the appointment and dismissal of staff, the care and maintenance of the buildings, correspondence from outside bodies such as the Home Office and once a year inspected the punishment book. Most of the meetings were held at Church Farm but some were held at the London offices of the treasurer. The members of the committee tended to serve for a considerable period of time and when replaced it was most often from amongst the families of existing members or their friends and colleagues. After the setting up of the London School Board an agreement was reached for the admission of children sent by the Board and in return a representative was appointed to the committee. When the London County Council took over the responsibilities of the Board they also sent a representative.

Most of the committee members were middle-class professional men. In the period from 1860 to 1933 42 committee members were appointed and on average they served for 24 years. Several members belonged to families who had a long connection with the home. Although Colonel and Mrs Gillum had no children of their own their nephew, Widgwood William Gillum, continued the family contact and just prior to the home's move to Godstone, Surrey in 1937, he spoke at the annual prize giving about his uncle's work. Six members of the Hale family covering three generations served on the committee, from 1872 until long after it ceased to be an industrial school and had moved from East Barnet. The grandson of J.H. Hale, one of Gillum's management committee, acted as secretary of the Hale Trust, which administers the funds of the original foundation.

Several members of the committee were connected with Quaker banking families. Francis Augustus Bevan, a local resident and first chairman of Barclays Bank, was a member of the committee from 1898 until his death in 1919. Both Arthur and Mrs Glaisby were on the committee and their address was given as 'The Bank, New Barnet'. (This bank was originally Sharples, Tuke, Lucas and Seeborn later Barclays.) William Tindall Lucas, who was on the committee in 1888, was still on the committee in 1919.

Church Farm seems to have been particularly fortunate in having a consistent and active management committee and this undoubtedly contributed to its success as an industrial school. It does not seem to have experienced the difficulties that the London home had in the early part of the twentieth century in finding good, active managers. When judging their apparent success it should be borne in mind that the school was very selective in the type of child it admitted. The most difficult and troublesome boys were left for other institutions to care for.

GROUP 2 - MAGISTRATES

Chapter II describes the involvement of magistrates in agitating for powers to establish special schools to cope with the problems of juvenile delinquency and vagrancy. They were primarily concerned with convicted children and were therefore more involved with founding reformatory schools. As interest grew in preventive care, magistrates became involved in the establishment and management of some of the early industrial schools for children for whom they considered the committal to a prison or reformatory school too severe a punishment. Magistrates grouped together to set up their own schools and also were involved in the management committees of independent voluntary schools.

Feltham Industrial School

As described in the previous chapter London magistrates grouped together to set up their own school, the Feltham Industrial School. In 1853 Edmund E. Antrobus, a Middlesex JP had proposed to other London magistrates the founding of a school for the young offenders brought before them. Special legislation was passed in the form of the 1854 Middlesex Act.¹⁴ The wording of the preamble 'to make Provision for the Care, Reformation and Education of Juvenile Offenders' is an indication of the aims of the founders to reform juvenile offenders rather than the milder 'Care, education and training of destitute and vagrant children' of the 1857 Industrial Schools Act.¹⁵

The Middlesex Act included power to appoint members of a committee at any General or Quarter Sessions, who were to be responsible for the establishment and running of an industrial school until an annually elected committee of visitors could be set up. The visitors' committee was to be made up of between seven and 24 justices who were to meet twice a month. At least once a month not less than three members were to visit the school and, as far as was possible, see every child. When a new child was admitted he or she had to attend the next meeting of the visitors. The members of the committee in 1874 included Mr J. MacGregor (chairman), Mrs Cowell, Revd C. Darby Reade, Mr Currie, Sir Charles Reed, Revd Preb. Irons, Mr Scrutton, Revd and Hon A. Legge, Revd J.B. Stephenson, Revd R. Maguire, Mr Wallace. The managers' role appears to have been largely supervisory, with little involvement in the day to day running of the school or contact with individual boys. G.A.T. Lee's work, *A History of Feltham Industrial School*, does not mention any involvement on their part.

In 1889 the school was transferred to the control of the newly established London County Council (LCC) and a committee was formed to run both Feltham and another industrial school called Mayford. In 1904 this committee was abolished and the school came under the LCC Education Committee's Special Schools

Sub-Committee. The Feltham school was an exceptionally large one and the managers appear to have been more distanced from the boys than those schools described in Group 1. In 1909 the school finally closed when the buildings were sold to the prison commissioners for conversion into a borstal.

The Stanhope Industrial School

Another industrial school founded by magistrates was the Stanhope Industrial School in Kent. In 1872 a committee of justices had been set up to look into the application of the industrial schools acts and the following year premises were leased for a girls' school which ran until 1884 when it closed due to lack of numbers. In 1874 land had been acquired at Kingsnorth for the boys' school, which was named after Lord Stanhope, the chairman of the committee for many years until his death in 1905. This school survived much longer than the girls' school and became an approved school under the 1933 Act, moved to Brecon in 1940 and was handed over to the Brecon County Council shortly afterwards. Whilst these schools were primarily established to provide for children living in Kent those from outside the county could be admitted by special arrangements.

The managers of these schools were elected and therefore more subject to change and appear to have been people involved in a wider form of public life. Their role as managers does not appear to have taken such a high priority in their lives as those involved with Group 1.

GROUP 3 - RELIGIOUS BODIES

Nearly three quarters of industrial schools established by religious groups, were run by Roman Catholic bodies. The Church of England established all the rest except for two Jewish homes and one run by Quakers. Individual Quakers were often involved in running other schools and many of the managers of industrial schools were motivated by religious as well as humanitarian convictions. The Roman Catholic bodies involved were groups such as the Poor Sisters of Nazareth, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, the Brothers of Christian Schools and the Westminster Diocesan Education Fund Committee, who ran many of the special schools for physically and mentally handicapped children. Inevitably the Roman Catholic schools were located mainly in areas where there was a high proportion of Irish immigrants such as Liverpool, where at least six of the 16 industrial schools were Roman Catholic.

Schools run by religious orders tended not to have active management committees, which could lead to a lack of accountability. The 1896 Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools expressed concern that some of the schools run by Roman Catholic communities had only inactive management committees. Cardinal Wiseman, cardinal-archbishop of Westminster, was nominally responsible for the establishment of the St Nicholas' Industrial School

in Shernhall Street, Walthamstow in 1855. The school moved to Manor Park in 1868 and was certified as an industrial school for 190 boys in 1870. It reopened as St John's Walthamstow in 1873. Cardinal Wiseman had been born in Seville in 1802, was educated at St Cuthbert's College, Durham and travelled extensively. He does not appear to have been involved in running the school which was actually done by the Brothers of Mercy with a rather ineffective management committee, criticised for shortcomings in administration which came to light during a government inquiry. In the 1890s, following a fight when a boy died, a government investigation found charges of excessively severe punishment could not be substantiated but that there had been grave irregularities. It was discovered that there had been no visiting committee from 1879, that neither a visitors' book nor a managers' minute book had been kept and that the sole manager had been the superintendent, Mr Webb. It was also found that the punishment book only recorded the more severe forms of punishment. The school moved to Boleyn Castle, Walthamstow in 1906 and subsequently became a reformatory school, finally closing in 1932.

Hayes Industrial School

Until the establishment of this school the visiting committee of the United Synagogue had an arrangement with the Lewisham Industrial School to send Jewish boys there. In 1890 there appear to have been difficulties in continuing this process and a school especially for Jewish boys, originally certified for 60 boys, was opened at Hayes in Middlesex. The management committee appears to have been particularly active at this school since they met once a week instead of the more usual monthly meetings. Its chairman was Louis Davidson, the chairman of the house committee, Meyer A. Spielman, and the treasurer the Hon. Walter Rothschild MP, whilst the honorary secretary was P. Ornstien. In 1922 the LCC's representative was Lady Salmon. M.A. Spielman, a government inspector of reformatory and industrial schools, wrote a history of Home Office schools, *The Romance of Child Reclamation*, in 1920.¹⁶ With the enactment of the Approved School Act in 1933 the Middlesex County Council took over the buildings for use as a senior approved school and the Jewish children were transferred to Finnart House, Weybridge. In 1937 this school was reclassified as a combined Jewish and Church of England school.

Waifs' and Strays' Society

The Waifs' and Strays' Society ran many of the Church of England schools, establishing some of them and taking over other independent voluntary schools which were foundering. The managers of the Society's schools appear to have come from the local clergy and middle classes in much the same way as those of the ordinary elementary schools.

The society was founded in 1881, largely due to the efforts of one man, Edward Rudolf. His father was a retired Army officer and his mother a young servant-girl. Edward had little formal education but was taught by his father and started work as an office-boy at the age of 13. He joined a committee involved in educating young men and decided to become a clergyman and to found an orphanage for outcast and destitute children. In 1880, when he was acting as a Sunday School teacher, he had discovered two of his absent children in a neglected state, begging for food. He tried to get them into a church home or orphanage without success but had to accept a place in a non-denominational home, which meant his attempts to teach them in the ways of the Church of England could be lost. As a result he decided that some form of home should be set up to take children whilst waiting for a place in a Church of England home. These homes were set up throughout the country and the Society also organised foster care and emigration.

In addition to opening ordinary homes, the Society became involved in the industrial school movement. Initially they arranged for children to be sent to industrial schools such as the Ripon Industrial Home for Girls, King Edward's Industrial School, Mile End, the Boys' Farm Home and the Boys' Home, paying for the children's maintenance. In 1883, as the LSB had done earlier, the society appointed an officer to bring children in need of the sort of care that an industrial school could provide, to the attention of the magistrates. Then they set up a small number of certified industrial schools of their own. These included two very small homes for girls set up in 1884 in Hemel Hempstead and Ashurst, followed by a farm school for boys, Standon Farm Home in Staffordshire, where many of the boys were trained in farm work ready for their later migration to Canada. Further schools were established in Leeds and Swansea and by 1914 the Society was running seven certified industrial schools.

Other Church of England groups which controlled industrial schools included the Church Penitentiary Society, which ran St Winifred's Industrial School in Wolverhampton, certified in 1911, and the Church Army, which established St Monica's, Croydon, certified in 1913.

Greenwood Industrial School, Halstead

In about 1866 a Quaker, Lucy Greenwood, set up a school for destitute girls at Halstead which became a certified industrial school in 1869. She managed without the help of a formal management committee until her death in 1895 but she did have the support of friends and fellow Quakers. They included Samuel Courtauld the founder of Courtaulds, Mrs Sydney Courtauld, Joseph Smith of Woolpits, Henry Rogers an HMI and William Brown of Halstead. Greenwood had appointed two executors with power to make arrangements to enable the school to continue after her

death. They persuaded the Quarterly Meeting of Essex and Suffolk to arrange for the purchase of the property and appointed 12 trustees. A management committee was set up and the school continued to run until 1921. The executors were Wilson Marriage and Joseph Smith jnr. the son of her friend Joseph Smith of Pattiswick Hall. Joseph Smith became chairman of the house committee and Wilson Marriage acted as chairman of the managers.

GROUP 4 - SCHOOL BOARDS

Under Section 15 of the 1870 Education Act boards that had established industrial schools could delegate their powers and appoint a committee of not less than three managers responsible for the day to day running of the schools. They also had the power to appoint paid officers such as a clerk or treasurer. In addition to setting up their own schools the boards also increasingly took over many of the established industrial schools which experienced difficulties in continuing their work either through financial problems or through lack of effective managers. Before 1894 there were only nine industrial schools in England and Wales under the management of school boards and six truant schools. These were the boards of major towns such as Brighton, Liverpool, London, Plymouth, Sheffield, and Swansea. Other boards which did not run their own schools still exercised influence on the numerous independent schools where they sent their children, through their annual inspection and representation on the management committees.

The London School Board

This board was the first to be set up and its connection with industrial schools has been detailed in Chapter III. London's ratepayers elected the members of the board who were appointed for a term of three years with elections held in the November of every third year. The newly elected members quickly set up a special industrial schools sub-committee, which reported back to the Schools Management Committee. In 1873 a standing committee was appointed to take over the work. Officers appointed to deal with cases of vagrant, destitute and truanting children attended the meetings of the Industrial Schools Committee until 1899, when these officials were transferred to the various divisions and became visitors under the direct control and supervision of the divisional superintendent. The officers reported on the cases they had to deal with and were advised of the action that should be taken. In 1874 the board members were Mr John Macgregor, Mrs Cowell, Revd C. Darby Reade, Mr Currie, Sir Charles Reed, Revd Preb. Irons, Mr Scrutton, Revd & Hon. A. Legge, Revd J.B. Stephenson, Revd R. Maguire, Mr Wallace. (The same committee ran the Feltham School.)

Liverpool School Board

In Liverpool, unusually, it was agreed that the members of the school board should come from religious organisations in specific proportions i.e. seven Anglicans, four Roman Catholics, and four Protestant Nonconformists. The first chairman was Christopher Bushell, a member of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. In Liverpool, as in London the school board set up an industrial schools committee, with four members, with Mr Joseph Hubback as chairman. As well as being secretary of the 1851 Birmingham conference, Hubback was the secretary of the Liverpool Industrial and Ragged Schools and chairman of the local quarter sessions. The industrial schools committee established four industrial day schools of its own as well as having arrangements with five other schools to admit children at a cost of 1/- per head.

CONCLUSION

The early industrial schools were established primarily for the care, education and training of destitute, vagrant and semi-criminal children. Who these children actually were and how the schools were run was very much in the hands of the managers. Later on the industrial school system was adapted to serve the needs arising out of the introduction of elementary education for all children and for specialist schools for physically and handicapped children. The examination of the four groups of managers demonstrates the range of managers - from the merely nominal to those who devoted their lives to the running of their schools. Whilst bearing in mind this wide range of managers and within the constraints of the amount of information available concerning the managers it has been possible to come to some conclusions.

Appointments of managers varied from group to group. Those running Group 1 schools generally came from amongst the family and friends of the founder, with the addition of local clergy and representatives of LEAs. The magistrates elected managers from amongst their own numbers until the schools were taken over by LEAs. Religious bodies frequently had merely nominal management committees whose members were not usually subject to election. In the final group committees were generally appointed from the elected members of the school boards.

Managers in Group 1 served for longer than those in other groups. It was not unusual for these managers to serve for 20 years or more, whilst the managers who had been elected were subject to change much more frequently. School board elections were held every three years and voters included both male and female domestic ratepayers. This had the effect of widening the social structure of the school board's management committees and enabled the inclusion of more women than was the case in most industrial schools. Generally it was the school boards and LEAs that

were most likely to have women on their schools' committees whilst other schools mainly had all-male committees at least until into the twentieth century. Girls' schools were likely to be an exception and include ladies amongst their committees.

The social status of the managers of most schools tended to be middle-class, for they were the people who had the time and money to become involved. Peter Gordon in his book, *The Victorian School Manager*, analysed the professions of the 1,475 managers of the London School Board from 1870, by occupation, as follows:

31%	-	leisure classes
10.5%	-	professionals
21%	-	church
8.5%	-	merchant managerial
22%	-	sub-managerial
4.5%	-	skilled workers
2.5%	-	teachers ¹⁷

Having looked at the managerial structure of a considerable number of industrial schools there appears to be no evidence of the inclusion of either skilled workers or teachers. According to Professor Gordon the work of the London School Board managers was 'arduous, seldom rewarding work, both time consuming and expensive' and the motives of the managers included religious motivation as well as the chance to exert power and authority.¹⁸

The work of the industrial school manager would not have been dissimilar but when there was a close involvement with a single school the work was likely to be more fulfilling and the power motive would have been much more limited. The managers of all the groups except Group 1, sometimes found that they were responsible for several schools. It was therefore more difficult for them to establish as close a relationship with the schools and the children themselves compared with the voluntary independent managers, whose families also often became involved. Managers became involved for a variety of reasons, ranging from the religious and philanthropic ideals of those of the voluntary and denominational groups to the more practical aims of the magistrates and school boards in dealing with a problem facing society.

There was some similarity between the management committees of industrial schools and elementary schools. Generally they included the principal minister and his curate on their management committees. Unlike the managers of industrial schools, elementary school managers were elected by the subscribers usually from local land owners. Whilst industrial schools frequently involved a proportion of local land owners as managers, the schools often served children from a much wider area and consequently involved managers who lived outside the immediate area but who had an

interest in the industrial school movement. This was particularly so in the case of the early pioneering managers. With the introduction of free education for all children as well as increased government support for families, the need for industrial schools diminished and with it the need for the committed managers so active during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The attributes of a manager of a successful school were mainly those of consistent commitment and a desire to help the children themselves rather than a desire to solve society's problems of delinquent children. It was also helpful if the managers had money or access to money through rich and influential friends.

Notes

- ¹Report on the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1923) p. 22
- ²First Report of the Cambridge Industrial School, Chesterton p. 1
- ³Ibid. p. 4
- ⁴Annual Report of the Cambridge Industrial School, Chesterton (1865) p. 8
- ⁵Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the children of the dangerous and perishing classes* (London 1851) p. 38
- ⁶*Park Row Certified Industrial School* (Bristol 1875) p. 49
- ⁷Report of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education - PP 1861 (2974) XXXI p. 382
- ⁸*The Story of the Boys' Home* (London 1880) p. 2
- ⁹Edward Bell, *George Bell* (London 1924) p. 118
- ¹⁰Col Milman may also have had a family connection with G.W. Bell whose sister had married a Milman and a Henry Salisbury Milman of Lincoln's Inn was director of the Law Fire Union where G.W. Bell was the secretary.
- ¹¹The Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report 1911 p. 6
- ¹²Letter from W.J. Gillum to secretary for the Society for the Relief of Small Debtors dated 26 Jan 1866
- ¹³Management Rules - Appendix C
- ¹⁴An Act for the provision regulation and maintenance of County Industrial Schools in Middlesex (The Middlesex Industrial Schools Act 1854) - 17 & 18 Vic Cap CLXIX
- ¹⁵An Act to make better Provision for the Care and Education of vagrant destitute, and disorderly Children and for the Extension of Industrial Schools (Industrial Schools Act 1857) - 20 & 21 Vic Cap XLVIII
- ¹⁶M.A. Spielman, *The Romance of Child Reclamation* (London 1921)
- ¹⁷P. Gordon, *The Victorian School Manager* (London 1974) pp. 162, 165
- ¹⁸Ibid. p.2

CHAPTER V

THE STAFF

Chapter IV explained that it was the managers of industrial schools who selected and appointed their schools' superintendents. The managers also set salaries and conditions of service. It was to the management committees that these officers were responsible and to whom they reported. The remaining staff, including both teaching staff and trade instructors, were then appointed by the committee but usually with the active participation of the superintendent.

Whilst the managers decided their own schools' overall policy, it was the staff, particularly the superintendents who, through their daily contact with the children, had the most profound effect on the children's lives. The 1896 Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools described the superintendent as 'the mainspring of the institution', and acknowledged the value of good teachers since the neglected children in industrial schools 'need teachers not less expert, but more expert, than other children do'.¹

An examination of the staff is therefore crucial when attempting to evaluate the success or otherwise of industrial schools. This chapter examines the range of staff likely to be appointed, the Government's attitudes towards them and the influence it exercised on their standard and selection. It then looks at staff numbers, gender, ages, qualifications and training, their conditions and length of service. Finally Chapter V examines the staff's social backgrounds and motivation, and evaluates the quality of their work. What was taught is dealt with in the following chapter.

SOURCES

Government reports included material on staff, which was usually fairly general except when an inquiry was held on a particular school. In 1894 St John's Industrial School, Walthamstow was the subject of a government inquiry and the superintendent, Mr Webb, was accused but cleared of 'excessive severity', together with the head schoolmaster, a Mr Cody, and an assistant, Mr Payne.² Members of staff were also, from time to time, called to give evidence to inquiries. John Bowden, the master of the Boys' Farm Home, was one of the witnesses before the 1896 inquiry and answered questions on the work of the schoolmaster as well as his own family's involvement.³

Inspectors' reports included references to individual members of staff. These allusions were frequently when staff were appointed or left and paid tribute to the person concerned. The 35th Report mentioned the resignation, in July 1891, of Captain J. Rowland Brookes, superintendent of Feltham for 29 years. The inspector

reported that the school owed 'much of its good organisation and success to his firmness, tact and good management'.⁴ The inspections do not appear to have checked on the adequacy or otherwise of the staff themselves other than through monitoring the level of progress of the children's education. The 1924 Children's Branch Report acknowledged that 'unsuitable appointments of superintendents' had been made in the past whilst noting that, by that time, any such appointments were subject to the approval of the Secretary of State.⁵

Material on individual members of staff is more likely to appear in local sources; the records of schools, the reports to the managers, the schools' annual reports and in school magazines. From descendants of some members of staff it has been possible to gather personal memories. Articles and reports from the members of staff were included in the Reformatory and Refuge Union's *Journal*.

THE RANGE AND ROLES OF STAFF

When any new school was founded the managers' first priority was to appoint a superintendent, sometimes known as the master or mistress, whose job it was to organise the day to day running of the school. Initially this superintendent would often be responsible for the children's elementary education and other teaching staff would only be taken on as the school became too large for him or her to cope. The pattern seems to have been that following the superintendent's appointment, several tradesmen would be brought in to teach their own particular craft. The need for the children's labour to produce an income for the early schools influenced the choice of trade and consequently the trade instructors. As government financial support increased the choice of trades could be more attuned to those that would be useful in later life. Early trade instructors generally were local tradesmen who had had no training in teaching children. Following their appointment, depending on need, one or several schoolteachers would be engaged. The average sized school with 100 children generally employed at least one schoolmaster and an assistant. Further staff could include a chaplain and a medical officer as well as some domestic staff.

Mary Barnett, who had a personal knowledge of industrial schools, wrote in 1913 that 'besides the superintendent and matron, the schoolmaster and his assistant, the carpenter, tailor, shoemaker, bandmaster, cook and laundress there were in some larger schools a resident gymnastic instructor and farrier and in country schools agricultural and horticultural staff'.⁶

The role of each member of staff would have depended on the ideas of the managers and superintendent. Although probably similar in general terms, this could well have varied in detail from school to school. The records of the Boys' Farm Home include instructions from Colonel Gillum, the school's founder, defining the roles of the principal members of staff including the master, matron, assistant master,

schoolmaster and labour master. It cannot be assumed that these are typical of all industrial schools but it seems likely that they were at least similar.

Figure 5.1

THE STAFF AT THE BOYS' FARM HOME c 1890

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



At the Boys' Farm Home the master was expected to 'give his whole time to the Institution' and 'especially attend to the religious, moral, physical and intellectual training of the boys committed to his care'.⁷ He was to work under rules established by the managers, keep the school's accounts, receive visitors, and be responsible for the staff. His daily routine included reading morning and evening prayers, authorising the purchase of items needed by the staff, presiding over the boys' meals in the farmhouse and seeing that they received their schooling at the prescribed time. All forms of punishment had to be sanctioned by the master before they could be administered. The matron, with the help of an assistant and the boys, was to make, wash and mend the boys clothes and linen and was responsible for the care of the household items. She also had to teach the boys housework and needlework, in addition to other domestic work with which they could help.

The assistant master kept the school attendance book and supervised the meals and washing of boys living in one house. On Sundays he took over the master's responsibilities. The main role of the schoolmaster was to give a basic grounding in the three Rs but his duties also included supervisory ones outside school hours. The labour master worked under the master and organised the farmwork, teaching and supervising the boys in the care of the animals and work in the farm and garden. He also had responsibilities for the pastoral care of the boys in his house.

GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND INVOLVEMENT

At first the Government did not seem to have displayed any wish to control the quality or range of staff employed in industrial schools. Although the several industrial schools acts' were designed to encourage the founding of these schools they did not give any firm directions on the staff to be appointed. They merely defined the schools to be covered as those which gave 'industrial training' and 'fed as well as taught' the children in their care. The legislation did insist, however, that whenever possible children should be sent to a school of the same religious denomination as their parents or when this was not possible, that a minister of the appropriate religion should attend to give religious 'assistance'.⁸ The Government primarily influenced the type of person appointed to work in industrial schools through the power of certification. Schools that wished to qualify under the industrial schools acts and receive government assistance, had to be inspected and assessed by a government inspector. Schools that did not meet the inspectors' standards could be pressurised into raising their quality by using the threat of the withdrawal of the certificate and the money it brought. Such a threat was used to ensure that St John's Walthamstow remedied the faults pointed out by the 1894 Parliamentary Inquiry, previously referred to.

According to Carlebach, writing in 1970, Sydney Turner, the first chief inspector, rejected the national schoolmaster as too academic and the ragged school teacher as unable to exercise enough discipline. However he considered that the teachers in the workhouse schools were most likely to be suitable. He wanted staff to 'be earnest', 'love the children' and 'of a sound mind'. He thought the trade instructors should be 'not superbly skilled' but have 'sufficient command of their trade to gain confidence and respect', that they should have 'no physical defects or oddities of manner or appearance' and be prepared to work with the children and get 'dirty with them'.⁹ His ideas were no doubt communicated to managers when he inspected their schools, although if staff were appointed who came from workhouses, the writer has found little evidence of it. Sydney Turner wrote to the founder of the Boys' Farm Home in 1869 recommending two men he considered would be suitable. One, John Dodwell, had been a schoolmaster at the Manchester Reformatory School and the other, Robert Malcolm, had been a former master of a Poor Law school and subsequently superintendent of the certified industrial school at Dumfries. Turner recommended Dodwell 'as a very good teacher who understood farm management' and Malcolm as 'a clever man a good teacher, with a useful and active wife'.¹⁰ However neither of these people was actually appointed.

The Government did not appear to have expected a very high standard of education to be provided in industrial schools, at least at first. The 1884 Royal

Commission acknowledged that whilst many of the teachers were not qualified and had not been properly trained 'they are quite fit to teach so far as we [the inspectorate] want them to go' but at the same time they recognised that there was room for considerable improvement.¹¹ It was some time after elementary education had been made available for all children in the 1870s, that the Government began to be aware of the need to raise standards in industrial schools and to make recommendations and exert increased influence and control. It seems to have been reluctant to impose its recommendations, possibly due to the largely voluntary nature of the schools.

By 1885 the Home Office had defined the standards required for certification and the Reformatory and Refuge Union printed them in their *Journal*. The list included details of the minimum range of subjects to be taught in the school, the type of industrial training which was thought to be appropriate and the time to be spent on both types of training. It gave no details as to the qualifications or guidance on the choice of staff. However item 18 stated 'The officers and teachers of the school shall be required to maintain the discipline and order of the school and attend to the instruction and the training of the children in conformity with these regulations'.¹²

In 1896 the Government's departmental committee recommended that the principal teacher should be qualified when there were 30 or more children in the school and that he should be relieved of other duties. To encourage the appointment of qualified staff there was a Treasury allowance of £20 for a schoolmaster and £15 for a schoolmistress. Qualification meant the holding of a 'parchment' but if the master did not hold one but had been trained and would have been entitled to the award of one after two years service in an ordinary elementary school, the allowance was to be £15.¹³ Industrial schools came under the Home Office rather than the Education Department and therefore service in them did not automatically qualify staff in the same way as would service in an elementary school.

In 1893 the Home Office had distributed recommended 'model rules' for the guidance of managers preparing their own rules. These rules were 'not in themselves operative', they were model rules to show what was needed when the managers prepared their own and submitted them to the Secretary of State for his approval.¹⁴ However not all schools produced rules, and those that were issued did not always conform to the Government's recommended standard. In 1913 a departmental inquiry recommended that 'Central Authority ought to be in a position to secure amongst other things managers and superintendents are fit and proper persons and the staff adequate and suitable'.¹⁵ Nevertheless the committee appeared to have been happy with the standard and the work of the superintendents and reported that:

We have been deeply impressed by the character and talent of many of the superintendents whom we have met. Many of them are doing their difficult and trying work with remarkable ability and success, and having regard to the small inducements held out, it is a matter of surprise that so many excellent men and women can be secured for the work.¹⁶

At the same time they did consider that there were some who were not sufficiently well educated or open minded. They recommended that the responsibility for the appointment of superintendents should be a joint one between the managers and the central authority.

Under the 1908 Children Act, Section 54, managers of a certified school could issue rules on their own initiative or could be required to do so by the Secretary of State, and all rules had to be subject to the approval of the latter. A revised set of model rules was published in 1923 and schools were, once again, urged to include them within their own. Many schools had still not produced rules and those that had, had ones that were out of date. The 1923 model rules included one on the staff, rule no 5, that stated that the appointment of the superintendent should be subject to the approval of the Secretary of State and that the head teacher should be certificated or have other qualifications approved by him.

There seems to have been little desire on the Government's part to control or set a standard for the trade staff, particularly those appointed during the early years. Government interest in trade training grew and the 1896 commissioners recognised that for a trade to be taught successfully the trade master needed to be competent to teach. They also expressed a preference for children to be placed out to learn so that they would understand how the trade was carried on in the outside world. The ability to license out older children was used to this end. Inspector Legge considered that a great many of the instructors were competent, Inspector Robertson that 'as a rule' they were 'fairly good' but Inspector Rogers view was not so favourable and he stated, 'I find tailors and shoemakers fairly intelligent men, you cannot get the very best for...economical reasons.' The commissioners came to the conclusion that the instructors 'were competent to teach the particular work assigned to them but for the most part know little beyond' but that 'some schools...have excellent instructors'.¹⁷ The 1913 Report referred to 'technical instructors' rather than trade instructions which may demonstrate a change in their attitudes towards the status of the work. For the first time it was suggested that the instructors should have technical certificates and that this should be a requirement for future appointment.¹⁸

NUMBERS

The proportion of staff to boys or girls varied from school to school but generally seems to have been in the ratio of one member of staff to between eight to

11 children. In 1871 the Boys' Farm Home, East Barnet had seven resident staff to 57 children¹⁹ but this would not have taken into account any staff who did not live in or the voluntary Sunday school teachers. In 1890 the Boys' Home, Regents Park Road, which had room for 150 boys, had a staff of 17; a ratio of approximately one member of staff to nine children.²⁰ In 1894 the Brentwood Industrial School, which was run by the London School Board, had 13 staff for an average of 100 children; a ratio of one member of staff to eight children. Nine of the 13 staff at Brentwood were resident.²¹ If these schools are typical and if Mary Barnett is correct the proportion of staff to children seems to have decreased in their later years. In 1913 she reported in her book, *Young Delinquents* that 'there is one member of staff to every eleven or twelve boys or girls'.²²

GENDER

It was usual for the head teacher or superintendent of residential industrial schools to be a man in boys' schools and a woman in girls' schools. The exceptions to this general rule were the schools for very young boys and some mixed schools. In 1924 a Miss Kearns ran St Vincent's Roman Catholic School for boys under 12 years of age, and a nun, Sister Donovan, was the superintendent of St Vincent's RC school at Beacon Lane, Liverpool, which had special facilities for young children. Since the number of boys' schools was much higher than those for girls, the number of women superintendents was proportionally lower. In 1924 a third of the 64 residential industrial schools were for girls and there was one mixed industrial school. There were also two mixed day industrial schools. St Joseph's School in Bristol, a mixed industrial school for Roman Catholic children, had a Sister Anthony as its superintendent and one of the two day industrial schools also had a woman superintendent.²³

In girls' schools there were rarely any male staff, although of course, the chaplain would have been a man. St Margaret's RC Girls' School, Mill Hill had seven sisters and one 'governess' for 88 girls according to the 1881 census. Boys' schools had a mixture of staff, generally in the proportion of one woman to every two men. It was customary but not mandatory, for the master or superintendent to be married and for his wife to act as the matron and look after the health and welfare of the boys. The remaining staff, both teaching and trade, were generally both men and women and any domestic servants were usually women. As with the superintendents in boys' schools men tended to predominate as teachers, with both men and women acting as trade staff, and women usually working in the kitchen, the laundry, and needleroom. There were no female staff in the training ships or in the Roman Catholic schools run by brothers, which the 1896 commissioners felt was a serious loss to the schools.

Whilst the proportion of girls' schools to boys' schools was a third in 1924, the number of girls actually in industrial schools was less than a quarter; i.e. 3,714 boys to 1,052 girls.²⁴ This meant that the schools themselves were smaller and therefore needed fewer staff. The overall proportion of female staff to male staff in all industrial schools was roughly level bearing in mind the smaller numbers involved.

AGES

There do not appear to be any central records which give the ages of staff on appointment but within the records of schools themselves there is some very limited information. It is therefore impossible to establish national figures which would accurately show the ages of staff on appointment. However using the census, it is possible to establish the ages of staff who were resident at the schools and using sources that survive from some individual schools to establish when staff were appointed and their length of service. The impression gained is that the masters and teaching staff employed in the early period were frequently under 40 years old on appointment, but that the average ages of the staff rose as time went on.

At the Boys' Farm Home the average age of the staff in 1861 was 29. By 1871 it had risen to 32 and this was the same average age in 1881 but in 1891 it had gone up to 42. At the St Margaret's Girls' Industrial School, Mill Hill in 1881 the average age of the staff was 23 and this had risen to 29 in 1891. The table below shows the figures for these residential staff, taken from the various census records, together with those from other schools. If these schools are typical it appears that the staff in the girls' schools were likely to be some ten years younger than those in boys' schools.

Figure 5.2

AVERAGE AGE OF STAFF

	1861	1871	1881	1891
<u>Boys Schools</u>				
Boys' Home	39	28	45	29
Boys' Farm Home	29	32	32	42
Park Row Industrial School	37	42	34	40
Feltham Industrial School	29	39	35	42
<u>Girls' Schools</u>				
Girls' Home, Charlotte Street		28	22	25
Hemel Hempstead Girls		-	-	38
St Margaret's Girls	23	29	36	

Many of the staff stayed at particular schools for a long period of time which would have naturally raised the average age of staff, as their period of service progressed. Richard Boning of the Chesterton School, Cambridge was the master for over 30 years. He had been 37 when appointed in 1850 and retired due to ill health in 1881.²⁵ John Bowden was appointed master of the Boys' Farm Home in 1869 when he was 26 and served for 31 years, retiring in 1901 aged 58.²⁶

Ebenezer Rayment was somewhat older, 41, when he was appointed master of the Boys' Home in 1858, but his wife, Hannah, who acted as the matron was younger at 33. Although his period of service was not long, he died in 1865, his widow continued as matron even after her re-marriage. With her son George, aged just 19, acting as superintendent, they continued their work until at least 1881 and possibly up to 1889 when a Mr Embley was the superintendent. At that time Hannah would have been in her late 50s or early 60s. The superintendent of Feltham, Captain Rowland Brookes, also served for a long period. When he resigned in 1891 he had served for 29 years.²⁷

The oldest member of staff at the Boys' Farm Home was F. Hathaway who, at the age of 74, was forced to retire when the Home Office required the closure of the shoe shop in 1924. Hathaway had served at the home for over 32 years. Other staff who were retired at the same time were Mrs Waite the laundress aged 60 and Mrs Driver the cook aged 65. The two latter members of staff had served for 32 years and 11 years respectively.²⁸ In 1881 the master and matron of St John's Walthamstow were both aged 36 whilst the age of the head sister at St Margaret's in 1881 was 42 and 41 in 1891. The superintendent of the Dorset Industrial School for Girls was 53 in 1891. Their length of service is not known at this stage and the limited information available makes it impossible to assess if these schools had an ageing staff.²⁹

Some staff tended to stay on well into old age. Mr Oxley, representing the Superintendents' Society, told the 1913 Departmental Committee that a very large number of the officers were over 60 years old.³⁰ This may have been because of the lack of a compulsory retirement age and pension arrangements. This problem was partially overcome in 1918 when some industrial school staff were covered for pensions by new legislation and in 1923 the model rules for industrial schools introduced a retirement age of 65.

QUALIFICATIONS/TRAINING

As has been explained above, when industrial schools were established the Government did not set standards for the type or qualifications of the staff. It merely tried to encourage some level of qualification amongst the teaching staff through the use of grants and qualified schoolmasters enabled schools to obtain grants. Managers often considered that practical experience was more important than paper

qualifications. Mary Carpenter wrote in an article in the *Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal* in 1864:

Teachers in these schools should be religious persons, not great professors, but doers of the Word, who carry out their religion in their lives, and thus give their charge better practical lessons than mere teaching can do. But the best abilities cannot give that preparation which actual experience derives from the work itself.³¹

One of the aims of the Reformatory and Refuge Union was 'to facilitate the selection and training of efficient masters, matrons and assistants'.³² The Union, with the approval of the Privy Council, favoured the training of staff through placing them in suitable approved institutions under the supervision of experienced workers. It did so under the Revd Sydney Turner at Redhill and under Mr McCullun at Glasgow.

Rosamund Hill, the treasurer of the Bristol CIS, spoke about training staff at the 1869 Reformatory and Refuge Union conference of managers and superintendents. She recommended that, to gain practical experience, 'probationers' should spend a period of time at a school as a pupil teacher would do in a National or British school.³³ This was the sort of system in use in Scottish reformatory schools. Mr Craster of the Wellington Reformatory School explained that his school received £20 a year for training a teacher, for a period of between two months to a year. The trainee lived with the boys, slept in the dormitory and helped in the school. He had to pass an examination by the inspector and was given a diploma.³⁴ No comparable system seems to have been set up in England for industrial school staff despite both the Government and the Reformatory and Refuge Union being in favour of training staff through experience in the better reformatory and industrial schools under recognised staff.

Those teachers who had been trained at colleges to work in elementary schools, had little incentive to work in the industrial schools system because such work did not enable them to qualify for their certificates. There was also a further problem that if, once having obtained a certificate elsewhere, they went to a reformatory or industrial school, they no longer qualified for the annual endorsement of the inspector of the Education Department on their certificates with its added value, and lost the chance of a second or third class certificate being raised to a higher grade.

Despite this there were qualified teachers who chose to work and stay within the industrial school system. One such was John Bowden. He had trained at St Mark's Chelsea in 1863 and 1864. St Mark's was a Church of England teacher training college, which supplied teachers for National schools all over the country. After qualifying, Bowden became an assistant master at the Hampden Charity Schools

and then master of the Brompton Parochial Schools. He chose to move to the industrial school system and in 1869 became the superintendent of the Boys' Farm Home, East Barnet, where he remained for the rest of his career.

Other qualified college trained staff chose to work in industrial schools, and some moved backwards and forwards between the two systems as their circumstances changed. One such teacher was Thomas Hughes who was born in Llanrwst, North Wales in 1884. He obtained a Board of Education Teachers' Certificate at the Bangor Day Training College in 1906. From 1911 until 1914 he taught at the Boys' Industrial School, Greenock, Scotland, marrying a local girl. Then he moved to London and was 'an assistant schoolmaster, County Council' in April 1914. On the 16 September 1914, aged 30, he was appointed headmaster at the Boys' Farm Home, at a salary of £150 per annum, including the use of a cottage and the supply of light.³⁵ He left on 5 November 1918 having been called up for military service. This service must have been very short for in February 1919 he was back in Scotland and was the welfare organiser for the Powell Dyfferin Coal Company. In 1925 during the depression he went back to teaching, for a year at Kingswood Reformatory School, Bristol and then from 1926 to 1933 at the Boys' Home, Hereford. After that he taught at an elementary school in London's East End for the LCC.

In 1896 when head teachers of elementary schools had to be certificated and most teachers had had some training, the commissioners reported that in 176 industrial and reformatory schools there were 148 certificated teachers but in 57 of the schools there were no qualified teachers. These were made up of 20 boys' reformatory schools, eight girls' reformatory schools, nine boys' industrial schools and 20 girls' industrial schools.³⁶ Since there were three times as many industrial schools as reformatory schools these figures demonstrate that the staff of industrial schools were far more likely to be qualified. The proportion of reformatory schools with qualified staff is estimated to have been 55 per cent, while the figure for industrial schools was 85 per cent.

The 1913 Departmental Committee reported that 56 superintendents were qualified and of the 409 teachers in both types of their schools, 228 or 56 per cent, were qualified.³⁷ The 1913 Report included a chart comparing the 178 schools who replied to the 1896 questions, with the 176 English and Scottish schools of 1913 (excluding special schools) referred to above. It is reproduced as figure 5.3. and the number of schools without qualified staff can be seen to have dropped considerably in boys' reformatory schools and in girls' industrial schools, whilst the figures for the other two types of schools appear to show that they were largely unaffected.

Figure 5.3

**QUALIFICATIONS OF STAFF IN
INDUSTRIAL AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS**

Schools in England Wales and Scotland	Certificated teachers		No. of schools having no certificated teachers	
	1896	1912	1896	1912
Boys' ref schools	11	39	25	9
Girls' ref schools	2	6	8	7
sub-total	13	45	33	16
Boys' ind. schools	96	127	19	19*
Girls' ind. schools	42	56	20	12*
sub-total	138	183	39	31*
TOTAL	151	228	72	47

** At two of these 19 boys' schools and two of the 12 girls' schools the children were not taught in the institution but went to elementary schools. A note was also added that some of the uncertificated teachers had qualifications which were not recognised.³⁸*

The higher proportion of qualified teachers in industrial schools compared to reformatory schools might be due to the fact the former schools' qualified staff attracted a government allowance, while those in reformatory schools did not. It is estimated that the number of industrial schools included in the figures were approximately 128 in 1896 and 138 in 1912 but despite this the figures show an increase in the number of qualified staff even without making any allowance for the qualified superintendents.

There are difficulties in attempting to compare the proportion of qualified teachers in industrial schools with those in elementary schools. When the 1857 Industrial Schools' Act became law, the schools were not seen primarily as educational establishments but as 'homes', providing care and training. When they were founded elementary schools were not available for all children and the poorer children, if they attended school at all, did so intermittently, leaving at an age well below those attending industrial schools, who left at the age of 15 or 16. At the same time the ages of the youngest children were higher than those in elementary school children. At the Boys' Farm Home in 1896 at least 15 boys were aged between 14 and 15 and there were 20 boys in Standard VI, a level at which children at elementary school would have left.³⁹

Since at least part of each day was spent in industrial training the school day in industrial schools was much shorter and children commonly spent just three hours in

the schoolroom. At the Boys' Farm Home where there was a certificated schoolmaster, a qualified superintendent and an assistant, the schoolmaster spent five hours a day in the school and the school's timetable showed four periods of schoolwork each of three hours, with children in standards I, II, III and VI attending in the morning and those in standards IV and V in the afternoon. There were 36 children in standards I-III, 20 in standard VI and 30 in standards IV and V. Since the schoolmaster only taught for five hours the work seems to have been divided up with the assistant schoolteacher and possibly even the superintendent helping out.⁴⁰

At the local National elementary school, St Mary's, at the same time there were over 100 children on the books but the average attendance would have been lower. The staff comprised one qualified headmistress, an assistant and a pupil teacher. The school day would have been longer and the size of the classes larger.⁴¹

PUPIL TEACHERS

The pupil teacher system, common in elementary schools, was also used in the industrial school system. If schools that had agreements with the London School Board are typical, the practice was fairly common. In the 31 schools on which reports of inspections were given in the 1894 Report, there were five ex-pupil teachers and one who was currently in his or her second year of training.⁴²

The lower status attributed to the work of staff in industrial schools created difficulties since their pupil teachers were not recognised for the annual examination in the same way as pupil teachers at public elementary schools. This was a disincentive to applicants from outside the system and made it difficult for pupil teachers to progress. Pupil teachers therefore were usually taken from the families of staff or from amongst the brighter children attending the school.

George Rayment, the son of Ebenezer Rayment, the master of the Boys' Home, was training as a pupil teacher in 1861. He attended St Mark's College, Chelsea for one year but left early to take over from his father on his death. At the Boys' Farm Home, Edwin Sigbert Ruhl, a pupil at the school in 1871, was described as the schoolmaster when he left in 1899. John Bowden the master was probably talking about Ruhl when he described the conditions of service of his schoolmaster to the 1896 Departmental Committee. Bowden said he was an 'old boy' and 'certificated'.⁴³

Pupils were more commonly trained within the schools to become trade instructors or general assistants. George Staples who attended the Boys' Farm Home from 1867-72, was the labour master for 21 years. William Elton Hunt who attended the school at the same time, was still running the milk round in 1891.

SALARIES/CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Staff wages were set by individual schools and therefore varied widely. Although salaries tended to be lower than in elementary schools this was not always the case. The limited finances of the schools often made it difficult to obtain good, qualified staff but the fact that accommodation and food were frequently included did mitigate this. Advertisements in papers such as the *The Schoolmaster*, give an indication of the range of salaries offered and the sorts of jobs available. In June 1872 the Guardians of the Poor in Manchester were offering a salary of £30 per annum with board, washing and accommodation for an assistant schoolmaster. This included the proviso that a larger sum could be awarded by the local government board after examination by their inspector. In March 1873 the Kirkdale Industrial School, Liverpool was advertising for a qualified assistant schoolmaster at a salary of £50 with board, washing and lodging and the proviso once again that the salary could be increased after inspection by the HMI.⁴⁴

The rates of pay for those employed by the LSB appear to have been much higher. The annual report of the industrial schools' committee of the Board of 1894 included the names and wages of the staff employed in its four industrial schools. The average wage of the resident teaching staff was £73 p.a., whereas the other officers, including the trade staff, had an average wage of £40 for resident staff and £84 for those who were non-resident.⁴⁵

Some schools found that to obtain better staff it was necessary to increase the salary offered. The Boys' Farm Home opened in 1860 and by 1862 appointed its second master at a salary of £40 per annum with an allowance of £28.0.8d. and his wife as matron at a salary of £17.10.0. with an allowance of £23.0.8d. A labour master was paid £24 with the same allowance as the master's wife and his wife was appointed as a dairy woman at £13 p.a. with the same allowances. These low wages seem to have encouraged a high turnover and by 1865 all of the original staff had left and the fourth master, a John Bowden who was qualified, was appointed in 1869. His salary was much higher than that of earlier masters i.e. £90, while that of the matron was £45.⁴⁶ This time the master did not move on but continued until his retirement in the early 1900s. He died in nearby Southgate in 1908.

Bowden told the 1896 Departmental Committee that Ruhl, the schoolmaster, earned £50 plus rations. For this he worked five hours a day in the school and was responsible for keeping order during leisure periods. He was not involved in the administration side of the school but had duties all day on Sundays. Ruhl had Saturdays off and three evenings were free from 5 o'clock but was always on call.⁴⁷ In 1923 a Mr E. Gowdridge was appointed as schoolmaster and paid at the Burnham Scale of salary as adopted by the LEA with an additional £25 plus cottage and light

for the extraneous duties. His wife was appointed as matron at the salary fixed by the Home Office plus £25 in lieu of rations.⁴⁸

FAMILY CONNECTIONS

Teaching at industrial schools frequently involved extended families. The Rayments and the Bowdens are good examples of this. Bowden had been born in 1842 in Great Torrington, Devon, as had his wife. At the age of eight or nine he was sent to work in a box factory but came to London at the age of 15. He was said to have been educated through an unknown benefactor. He was at St Mark's, Chelsea at the same time as George Rayment, the son of the master of the London Boys' Home, whose home he visited and he subsequently married Martha Rayment, Ebenezer's daughter. His appointment as headmaster of the Boys' Farm Home occurred just after his marriage and although Martha did serve as matron for some years this was not immediately on her husband's appointment. Initially Bowden's mother was matron and his sister Elizabeth acted as an assistant.

When Ebenezer Rayment died in 1865 his son George took over as master of the Boys' Home, where he had previously been a pupil teacher. In 1871 his mother Hannah S. Scott, (she had remarried) was the matron and his sister Louisa assistant matron. George was married at this time but his wife Elizabeth (born in 1842 in Great Torrington) does not seem to have held an official post. Since both Elizabeth Rayment and John Bowden were born in the same village in Devon it may well have been that Elizabeth Bowden and Elizabeth Rayment were one and the same person.

Another family which was deeply involved in the certified school movement was the Thomas family. David Thomas was the headmaster of a Birmingham ragged school and his brother Felix, who taught his trade of shoemaker, joined him there. Felix was asked to open a ragged school in Chester in 1854, which became a certified industrial school in 1863. He married one of the teachers who acted as matron to the school. Felix served as master at the Chester Industrial School for 46 years, retiring in 1894 when his youngest son Edward Hilton Thomas took over. Edward had already been a schoolmaster and senior assistant for six years. Felix's daughter Harriet Helen acted as matron. She had worked at the Chester school as well as at a Leeds' industrial school.

MOTIVATION

Work in industrial schools had three main drawbacks for the staff. The status of teachers at industrial schools tended to be lower than that of teachers in ordinary public elementary schools. They were frequently less well paid, had longer hours and wider responsibilities.

Despite this posts seem to have been in demand. One early school which appointed staff before the passing of the 1857 Act, was the Chesterton Industrial

School, Cambridge. The managers advertised in several papers for a master (probably in October/November 1848 following the appointment of committee.) The managers received 60 applications and selected a Mr Richard Boning who, according to the 1851 census, was a local man, born in Cambridge. He stayed at the school for over 30 years until he resigned as master due to ill health in 1881 and died in nearby Duxford in 1883.

When the Stockport Industrial and Ragged School managers advertised for someone to replace their first master, Thomas Jackson, in 1869 they received 94 applications for the job at a salary of £80.⁴⁹ The newly appointed master, David Ross, had previously been master of the Bute Certified Industrial School in Scotland. His sister Mrs Allan was appointed matron. Ross did not stay long and over the next couple of years three more masters were appointed and left but the fourth, Mr Williams, who had taught at the Feltham Industrial School was appointed in 1875 and stayed for some time. All of the masters appointed over this period had worked in similar schools and when they left continued in similar employment. The committee were proud of the fact that all the superintendents of the various Manchester industrial schools had worked at their school in the past.

There were several attractions in working in industrial schools including high ideals as well as practical considerations. For many the prime motive was a belief in the work. Whilst the majority of instigators of industrial schools were religiously motivated their aims were practical as well as religious. The aim of the movement was not just to save souls but to save bodies as well by changing the direction of the lives of children in trouble. Much of this fervour would have been reflected in the staff whom they appointed. The founders of the Boys' Home and the Boys' Farm Home had links with the Christian Socialist Movement as well as the Freemasons. Work in industrial schools was a vocation for many but this alone does not account for its attraction, nor was religious fervour necessarily the primary reason for the choice of staff. The background and experience of the individuals played a large part in their appointment. The Revd Sydney Turner, when he recommended Malcolm and Dodwell to Colonel Gillum made no reference to any religious motive but recommended them because their experience showed they were capable of doing the job.

Qualifications for teaching staff were increasingly appreciated but many considered them not to be essential even for the superintendents. R.H. Glanfield the honorary secretary of the Boys' Home in Regents Park Road, told the 1911 government inquiry in reply to a question as to the standard and qualifications of staff:

I have great opportunities, naturally, of seeing these various superintendents, and I have come to the conclusion that it is not necessary

that he should be a certificated man, but he ought to be one who thoroughly understands children. That qualification is very important...I do not think the salaries are particularly good for the class of men we want. ...I think they are a very good body of men, the superintendents. I have met a great many superintendents. I have had the opportunity of seeing them at work and outside of work.⁵⁰

Practical considerations made the work attractive to those who needed a home and those used to institutional life. The work suited many ex-soldiers, particularly that side of school life which involved the teaching of 'drill' and shooting. Ebenezer Rayment, the master of the London Boys' Home, was an ex-soldier who had served in the Crimean war but appears to have had no teaching qualifications. However his wife who acted as matron was experienced. She had been the matron of a school established for soldiers' daughters in Hounslow, run by Leonora Bell, later Leonora Gillum.

A typical male superintendent was young on appointment and for the newly married man working at an industrial school provided both a home and usually work for his wife. Unlike many other institutions family involvement was actually encouraged and bringing up a family was much easier since many managers liked the family atmosphere. The long hours then became less of a barrier to family life as the officers' families became involved in both the work and social life of the schools.

There were those for whom the way of life was not suitable and they moved on, while there were others who abused their positions and sometimes the children. Michelle Cale describes the staff as being as 'imprisoned' as the children.⁵¹ However, life in prisons was very different to that in industrial schools and the staff who chose to work at the schools could always leave. The protection from the cut and thrust of life outside the schools which it gave to the children was also provided to the staff. Life was a communal/community experience and for the staff at many schools it gave a stable and supported life.

CONCLUSION

There can be no doubt that the nature of the job, which placed staff and children in close daily contact, meant that the influence for good or ill that the staff had over the children was tremendous and far greater than that of ordinary school teachers. If the industrial schools were able to fulfil their roles and change the direction of the children's lives in their care it was the staff and particularly the superintendents who were responsible.

Admission to industrial schools does seem to have changed the lives of many of the children. Few returned to their families, since few had families that were able to be supportive. At the schools they received teaching over longer periods of time

and more consistently than they would otherwise have done, in smaller classes but with a shorter school day. In addition they received industrial training which would have been completely absent from normal schools. For the children themselves members of staff were remembered with varying degrees of affection or distaste. For some children the school was their home, the staff their family and they continued in contact and visited the home after they left. For others the experience was one they wanted to forget. Records of the correspondence of old boys have survived for some schools but whilst this is interesting it must be borne in mind that for these children the memories of the life at school are more likely to be good. Records of the experiences of those less fortunate are more difficult to locate.

One of the more positive experiences was referred to in a letter from a former boy from the Boys' Farm Home writing to the home from New Zealand in August 1876:

I owe you all a great deal for your kindness to me in learning me how to do things, for without that I should never be able to get on. I have to express my most hearty and sincere thanks...for without you all I should not be so prosperous as, thank God, I am...I am very pleased to hear good news of the Home. I wish it well with all my heart, and thank God for it. Long may it stand! Tell all the boys when they leave the Home they won't find things so comfortable...Remember me to...⁵²

What the work meant to some of the staff is illustrated by a note added by the Revd J.K. Hale in the minute book of the Boys' Farm Home in 1924, when he decided to resume his clerical work:

I leave Church Farm with the deepest regret and beg to thank the members of Committee, one and all, for the kindness, encouragement and support which they have given me during the past 23 years. The welfare of Church Farm has been my ruling passion and will be to the end of my life. Any help that I can give in the future is at the service of the Committee.⁵³

Notes

- ¹Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 (8204) XLV p. 16 para. 20 & p. 42 para. 72
- ²Report of the Commissioners appointed by the Secretary of State on 24 Sep 1894 - PP 1895 (107) LXXX
- ³Report of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee - Minutes of Evidence - PP 1897 XLII (8290) pp. 181-193
- ⁴35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1892 (6733) XLII.I p. 187
- ⁵2nd Report of the Work of the Children's Branch of the Home Office (1924) p. 37
- ⁶Mary Barnett, *Young Delinquents* (London 1913) p. 69
- ⁷Appendix D - Boys' Farm Home, staff regulations
- ⁸The Industrial Schools Act (1857) - Vic 20 & 21 Cap XLVIII para. x
- ⁹J. Carlebach, *Caring for Children in Trouble* (London 1970) p. 64
- ¹⁰Sydney Turner letter to Col. W.J. Gillum 1 Jan 1869 (Boys' Farm Home Papers)
- ¹¹Report of the Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1884 (3876) XLV.I sections III & X
- ¹²Appendix E - 'Government instructions and regulations for certified industrial schools' *Reformatory & Refuge Union Journal* 1885
- ¹³Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 XLV (8204) para. 70 p. 41
- ¹⁴General Rules for the Management and Discipline of Certified Industrial Schools (London 1893)
- ¹⁵Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838) XXXIX Ch. III p. 7
- ¹⁶*Ibid.* Ch. IX p. 19
- ¹⁷Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 (8204) XLV (8204) para. 83 p. 48
- ¹⁸Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838) XXXIX p. 21
- ¹⁹1871 Census
- ²⁰The Boys' Home *Budget* (1890) p. 2
- ²¹The London School Board Report of the Industrial Schools Committee (London 1894) Table C (12) p. 19
- ²²Mary Barnett, *Young Delinquents* (London 1913) p. 68
- ²³Directory of schools certified by the Secretary of State (London 1924)
- ²⁴*Ibid.* p. 4
- ²⁵Cambridge Industrial School Chesterton - 34th Annual Report (1884)

- ²⁶The Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1901) p. 15
- ²⁷35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1892 (6733) XLII.I p. 187
- ²⁸The Boys' Farm Home - Minute Book 11 Jul 1923
- ²⁹Statistics taken from various census
- ³⁰Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838) XXXIX p. 22
- ³¹Mary Carpenter, 'Suggestions from experience on the management of reformatories and certified industrial schools' *Reformatory & Refuge Union Journal* no. 20 July 1864 p. 99
- ³²Reformatory & Refuge Union - 1st Annual Report
- ³³Rosamund Hill, 'The training of masters and matrons' - Report of a conference of managers of the Reformatory and Industrial Institutions (1869) p. 46
- ³⁴*Ibid.* p. 48
- ³⁵Boys' Farm Home Minute Book - 16 September 1914
- ³⁶Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 (8204) XLV para. 70
- ³⁷Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838) XXXIX p. 21
- ³⁸*Ibid.*
- ³⁹Report of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee - PP 1897 (8290) XLII - John Bowden Minutes of Evidence p. 181
- ⁴⁰The Boys' Farm Home - 35th & 36th Annual Report (1895 & 1896)
- ⁴¹St Mary's School, East Barnet - School Log Book
- ⁴²Report of the London School Board Industrial Schools Committee (1894)
- ⁴³Report of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Committee - PP 1897 (8290) XLII - John Bowden Minutes of Evidence p. 185
- ⁴⁴*The Schoolmaster* June 1872 & March 1873
- ⁴⁵Report of the London School Board Industrial Schools' Committee (1894)
- ⁴⁶Boys' Farm Home Papers, Return of Receipts and Payments for the Year ending 31 December 1862 & 31 December 1869
- ⁴⁷Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1897 (8290) XLII - Minutes of Evidence J. Bowden p.185
- ⁴⁸Boys' Farm Home - Minute Book 12 December 1923
- ⁴⁹Stockport Ragged and Industrial School Annual Report (1869) p. 6 quoted in D.H. Webster, 'The Ragged School Movement in Leicester' PhD (Leicester 1973) p. 292
- ⁵⁰Report of the Inquiry into Reformatory and Industrial Schools - Minutes of Evidence R.H. Glanfield - PP 1913 XXXIX (6839) p. 149

⁵¹Michelle Cale, 'Working for God, Staffing the Victorian reformatory and industrial school system' *History of Education* 1992 vol. 21 no. 22 p. 113

⁵²Letter from F.B. 18 Aug 1876 - The Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1876) p. 18

⁵³Boys' Farm Home - Minute Book, Personal Note 8 July 1924

CHAPTER VI

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING AND EDUCATION

The 1857 Industrial Schools Act became law at a time when schooling for the poor was intended to make them into useful, moral citizens and the curriculum was largely bible based. A new more secular movement was beginning to emerge together with a change in attitudes in favour of the education rather than the employment of children. Chambers dictionary describes a school as 'a place of teaching'. In the nineteenth century the word 'school' was applied to a wide range of institutions, from dame schools to grammar schools and what was taught in Victorian 'schools' could cover anything from straw plaiting to Latin. Certified industrial schools could equally well have been described as refuges since there was as much emphasis put on the provision of care as that of industrial training and education but all three played a role in the reformation of industrial schoolchildren. This chapter examines and evaluates the industrial training and education provided in the schools. For the purposes of this thesis 'industrial training' is used to refer to those aspects of practical work and trade instruction that were usually carried on under the supervision of a tradesman or woman and 'education' the work done formally in the classroom under the supervision of a teacher, whether qualified or unqualified.

The founders of certified industrial schools were not the first people to see the possible benefits of teaching practical skills to children. Refuges, ragged schools, Poor Law schools and other similar institutions had included industrial work and training in their timetable. The intention was to make the children useful citizens and subjects considered to be 'useful' included gardening for boys and domestic economy for girls. The word 'industrial' formed part of the titles of some ragged and national schools e.g. the Hull Ragged and Industrial School and the Finchley National and Industrial School. The former school had evolved from a ragged school and the latter was an ordinary day school that provided industrial training in the form of cooking for its children.

In the 1840s and 1850s there was a general move to encourage practical training. The Committee of Council on Education, established in 1839 to distribute grants, offered them in 1856 to schools providing industrial training for children of 'criminal' and 'abandoned' classes. It was against this background that the certified industrial school system was established under the 1857 Industrial Schools Act. What made these schools different from all the others, in addition to their active recruitment of potentially criminal children, was the degree of their commitment to the use of industrial training in their programme of 'reclamation'.

This chapter examines the expectations of the Government, founders and managers, including how much emphasis they thought ought to be given to education

compared to training. It then examines their influence on the choice of subjects taught in the classroom, the range of industrial work and what happened in practice in the various schools. Where feasible some comparison is made with other types of schools. Industrial schools were residential and the children's day was not subject to the same demarcation between home and school which elementary school children experienced. Elements of life that ordinary children experienced through living with their families were missing for industrial school children. The schools needed to take this into account, both in the industrial training and other activities which took up the remainder of the day, such as religious instruction, sport, leisure, diet and health. These aspects of care will be covered in the following two chapters.

The sources used for this chapter include both printed central sources as well as manuscript and printed material from the schools themselves. Schools usually included a timetable in their annual reports but these rarely gave more than basic facts. Further details are periodically to be found in the records of some schools. When school boards sent children to schools they also sent their own inspectors, whose reports usually included assessments of the standards of education but were less likely to cover industrial training in any detail. The LSB and later the LCC sent children to schools all over the country. Their inspectors' submitted full reports on the schools they visited to their industrial schools' committee.¹ The Reformatory and Refuge Union *Journal* also contains much useful advice and comment.

The reports of the Home Office inspectors include brief details for individual schools at the end of the main report until 1914 but, initially at least, these gave no indication of the standard of educational attainment. In the 1880s, as interest in education grew, references begin to be made to the numbers of children in each of the 'standards'. When government commissions or inquiries were held, the minutes of evidence included some useful information on the types of training and education and the reports summarised the information gathered and expressed the views of the commissioners.

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES

There was concern during the early part of the nineteenth century that the number of criminal children was increasing, and in 1847 a select committee of the House of Lords sat to examine the question of the causes and cures of juvenile delinquency. The committee concluded that the lack of education was a cause. Baron Alderson JP, who was called before the committee, stated:

our best hopes rest upon a good and religious course of education for the people - an education which shall mainly be directed to teaching them their duties to God and man, rather than merely giving them information. My experience is...that at least a third [of all prisoners] can neither read nor

write; at least a third more can read but cannot write, and very few indeed are able to read and write well. The inference is...that education would have a very great influence.

Mr. Justice Cresswell, who was also called before the 1847 Committee, emphasised the need for religious and moral teaching:

I am of the opinion that good education, including infant training, as well as sound religious and moral instruction, will do more to lessen the prevalence of crime than any mode of dealing with convicts that can be devised.²

Having heard the evidence, the 1847 Committee came to the conclusion that the only way to reduce the number of offenders and the seriousness of their crimes was through education. The members meant by education 'sound moral and religious training' as well as industrial training, and recommended the introduction of measures to introduce all three but at the same time that discipline in gaols should be improved.³ In 1852 members of the Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles discussed the question of the power of education to limit delinquency and reported in 1853 that they had come to the conclusion that: 'A great proportion of the criminal children of this country, especially those convicted of first offences, appear rather to require systematic education, care, and industrial occupation than mere punishment.'⁴

Sir Stafford Northcote envisaged industrial schools more in the role of controlling delinquent children. When moving the first reading of the industrial schools bill he described the children for whom industrial schools were intended, as needing 'not a high scale of education, but the training of strict discipline and control'.⁵ Northcote had himself established a reformatory school for boys at Brampford Wood, Devon, along the fairly strict lines of the farm school founded by Barwick Baker JP. This school later was called the Devon and Exeter Reformatory School.

Despite the Government's recognition of the need for education and training, it did not specify what this should comprise and the several industrial schools acts left the matter of the content and balance of both open. The Government was content to leave the matter in the hands of the managers. John Bagwell, Liberal MP for Clonmell and a member of the government committee set up to agree the wording of the industrial schools bill, commented that 'the managers of industrial schools were placed in *loco parentis* and therefore considerable confidence should be reposed in them'. George Bowyer, the Roman Catholic MP for Dundalk, who was against the schools protesting that they could have a proselytising effect, commented that:

these institutions were called industrial schools but they had as yet got no information as to what branches of industry were to be taught in them; the education ought to be such as would fit the children for such employments as were most generally in the districts from which they come.⁶

The 1857 Industrial Schools Act was 'An Act to make better Provision for the Care and Education of vagrant and disorderly children and for the extension of Industrial Schools.' Initially it was the Privy Council Committee on Education which was appointed to inspect and certify schools described as those where 'industrial training was given' and where children were 'fed and taught'. In 1860 this act was amended and the power of certification and inspection transferred to the Home Office, which already was responsible for reformatory schools. The Education Department had requested the transfer on the grounds that the schools were penal in character and more suited to the supervision of the Home Office. This was not a judgement with which many of the supporters of the industrial school system agreed. This difference of opinion as to whether industrial schools were primarily places of education or penal institutions and the children committed under the Vagrancy Act 'criminal' continued. One member of the amending committee, W. Monsell, argued that since the only 'crime' was vagrancy and poverty the schools should remain under the Education Department. Another member, J.W. Henley, saw them as extensions of reformatories. Almost all histories link the two together but not everyone considered them to be the same. In 1879 Richard Cross, the Home Secretary, when opening the Essex Industrial School in Chelmsford clearly did not, he said:

one point is not thoroughly and fully understood throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is that there is the widest possible distinction between an industrial school such as we are opening here today and the reformatory schools which also have done so much good and...it is absolutely essential that all those who are interested in these institutions should not confound the two together and think that they are much the same sort of thing under different names. There is a vital difference between them which cannot be too forcibly expressed or too carefully borne in mind when you are treating of this subject. The reformatory school is for the reformation of criminals, the industrial school is nothing to do with criminals and no boy convicted of crime is sent here.⁷

Sir Stafford Northcote envisaged the transfer of the schools to the Home Office as a way of encouraging magistrates to commit children to industrial schools. Whilst appearing to agree with the transfer he expressed the hope that a 'sound moral education' would still be given and commented that he did not like the use of the word 'penal' in connection with either of the schools. It cannot be assumed however

that by 'education' he did not mean both schooling and industrial training as Mr Bowyer appears to have done.

It is apparent from what C.B. Adderley said whilst debating the proposed amendment in Parliament in 1860, that he saw the schools in quite a different light. He considered that 'the distinction between the two classes of schools was a wide one' and that 'a severe blow would be struck at the system if they were put on the same footing as the reformatory schools'. He continued 'the commitment by the magistrates was the process but education was the essence of the Act'.⁸

It is clear that the proponents of the Industrial Schools Act had different ideas on the exact role of the schools. J.A. Stack in his recent article on 'Interests and Ideas in 19th Century Social Policy' examined the attitudes of the people involved in the reformatory school movement. He concluded that they fell into two main groups the 'realists' and the 'humanitarians'.⁹ The humanitarians saw the children as the victims while the realists were more concerned with reducing crime. The argument as to whether the schools were penal or educational, described above, confirms Stack's theory. Among the realists he included T.B. Lloyd-Baker, the Gloucester magistrate who founded the Hardwicke Reformatory School in 1852, and Sir Stafford Northcote. On the other hand he considered C.B. Adderley to be a 'humanitarian'. Although Stack's study is based on reformatory schools, since many of the people were involved with both schools, the illustration of the difference in their points of view were equally relevant to industrial schools.

The contrasting ideals of proponents of industrial schools, joined with the Government's willingness to allow the managers a good deal of freedom, meant that whilst there were common elements in industrial schools individual schools could vary widely in the range and standards of both training and education and it was the influence of the managers that played the greater part in influencing the choice and content of the curricula.

FOUNDERS' AND MANAGERS' ATTITUDES

The founders of industrial schools generally saw them as a way of providing a place of safety where children could learn skills enabling them to lead honest lives once they had left. They did not believe the schools should be penal. The majority of founders considered a basic education in the three Rs to be part of these necessary skills as well as practical industrial training in trades such as shoemaking, tailoring and gardening for the boys and sewing and domestic skills for the girls. The timetable usually provided about three hours for education and six for industrial training.

The degree of freedom of choice allowed the managers by the government, particularly in the early years, meant that there could be a wide variation in the range of subjects taught, the types of industrial training undertaken and the quality of both.

The following section examines the attitudes of the four groups of managers described in Chapter II and assesses the schools' curricula in order to establish any features common to schools in each group.

Group I

Founders of voluntary industrial schools established them because they had an almost missionary belief in 'reclaiming' delinquent and vagrant children through providing them with the skills and the desire to work. These early founders, whilst recognising the need for a basic level of education, generally saw it as of secondary importance compared to industrial training. At the Boys' Farm Home in 1885 the Annual Report stated:

three hours is found to be sufficient time for the schooling of boys who are likely to have to earn their living quite as much by their hands as by their heads; six hours is not at all too much for industrial work, drill and band-practice; and this with five hours for meals, washing and play, the fourteen hours of a boys' ordinary day are filled up.¹⁰

Much of the justification for establishing industrial schools was that the inclusion of industrial training and work would teach 'habits of industry', provide an income and make the schools at least in part, self-financing. This was a useful argument to use against those who criticised the system for being a 'soft option' and an encouragement to neglect by irresponsible parents.

Mary Carpenter recommended that industrial schools should combine the attributes of both the Bristol Ragged School and the British and Infant Schools. She considered that industrial training should take the form of occupations such as sewing for the girls, shoemaking and tailoring for the boys. These trades were taught in the former school and as well as being useful later in life, would teach 'habits of industry'. She recommended that in addition subjects should be taught which would be useful to the children, suited to their social position and similar to those taught in the latter schools.¹¹ In 1862 according to the Park Row Master's Journal, three and a half hours were spent in school compared with six and a half in work. The quality and depth of the training varied from school to school. The Boys' Farm Home took training seriously and a set of instructions was produced by the managers for the staff in 1892.¹² This document made it clear that the industrial work carried on was seen as a means of training and educating the boys who needed to be taught the right way to perform tasks which should be as varied as possible.

Early voluntary industrial schools were at first almost entirely reliant on voluntary donations and their need to provide an income for the school put constraints on their freedom of choice of the trades they could select. In 1861 Mr.

Robert Hanbury reported in the Reformatory and Refuge Union *Journal* that £11,882 or about one seventh of the income of reformatory and industrial schools was produced by the children's work.¹³ One useful means of earning money was through the chopping and sale of bundles of firewood. The London Boys' Home reported 'the managers of these Homes find in the cutting of firewood, a safe and fairly remunerative occupation, which enables them to keep all their (the boys') little hands employed without glutting the market'. The home sold nearly a million bundles of wood each year at 4/- for 100 bundles.¹⁴ This appears to have produced a turnover of something in the region of £2,000 per annum. The scale of the work can be seen in figure 6.1 below.

Figure 6.1

THE BOYS' HOME - WOOD YARD

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



One of the founders of the London Boys' Home was a publisher. This led to an interest in printing which was performed to a high standard. As well as publishing material for themselves the boys printed reports and magazines for other schools and took in work from the general public. As far as the writer is aware, carpentry at the school was of a quality not reproduced in any other industrial school and the boys were described as 'cabinetmakers and carpenters'. The school's managers were involved with the Christian Socialist movement and the Pre-Raphaelite group and the influence of William Morris and Company was clearly visible in the quality of their

work. Items of furniture such as tables, rocking horses and cabinets were produced and sold to the general public.

Figure 6.2

THE BOYS' HOME - CARPENTERS' SHOP

IMAGES REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



When in 1860 Burne-Jones married Georgiana Macdonald, the boys made a table, black high backed chairs with rush seats and a black wood panelled sofa, from designs by Philip Webb. On another occasion they also made a walnut pedestal writing desk, which was inscribed and presented to the secretary of the Reformatory and Refuge Union, Arthur Maddison. They also made 'some choice bits of furniture' for the home of William Bell and a rocking horse for the children of Edward Bell. The latter is displayed at the Bethnal Green Museum of Childhood and a small oval table at William Morris' house, Kelmscott. Having begun to learn their trade at the home some of the more skilled boys went on to work for William Morris & Company when they left.

Group II

Other schools such as those run by magistrates, had less financial pressure on them but were influenced in their choice of timetable by other considerations. Magistrates were very concerned with removing children from temptations of city streets and ensuring that they did not return there. To that end emigration, life in the services or farmwork were seen as ideal occupations for boys on leaving. Teaching farming skills was seen as a way of preparing boys for emigration and it was one of the three main trades taught at Feltham. The other two were nautical training and music, both of which would be useful in the services.

When the Middlesex magistrates were looking for a site for their school one of the main considerations was that it should be suitable for farmwork. They chose a site at Feltham in Surrey which had 90 acres of land. Sam Shaw who attended the school, wrote that 'batch after batch left for Wales' and he was himself sent to work there. He continued 'Few left for home because the authorities did all in their power to restrain the boys from returning home'.¹⁵

The timetable of 1871 did not differentiate between the time spent in school and that at work but the Middlesex Act had provided for three hours to be spent in education. In summer eight and three quarter hours and in winter seven and three quarter hours were allocated for 'work and school'. If the instructions of the magistrates were carried out in practice this would mean that by far the larger amount of time was spent in industrial work i.e. from four and three quarters to five and three quarters hours, which was not such a long period as in many industrial schools. This seems to have been due to the fact that two periods of recreation took up between two and a quarter and two and three quarter hours. One of these included a period for 'cleaning section', which presumably meant cleaning their own accommodation.

Group III

There was concern by Roman Catholics that industrial schools would proselytise their children. Religiously based schools would seem to have been founded, at least in part, to avoid this and ensure the continued religious training of children from the founders' own faiths, preventing them from possible 'contamination' by attending other schools. Religious instruction was therefore likely to play a strong element in the day. The Roman Catholic schools formed the largest proportion of this group. Their staff were usually nuns or monks and likely to have an interest in education rather than trade instruction, which was generally of a less ambitious nature than in some other schools. The Hayes Jewish Industrial School was more ambitious than many other schools in the standard and range of topics taught, which included Hebrew, reading and translation, scripture and traditional music as well as citizenship and ethical and moral subjects. They treated the boys as half-timers, had kitchen gardens and included trades such as carpentry and tailoring.

Group IV

Industrial schools established by school boards were generally set up later than other schools, at a time when the right of all children to a basic education was more widely accepted. Since the 'raison d'être' of boards was to provide education, inevitably these schools had a greater interest in the education of their charges than other industrial schools. Few boards founded their own schools. Generally they sent their children to existing schools, which they inspected and tried to encourage and improve using financial incentives. In 1899 the LSB gave an extra grant of 1/- a child

for the appointment of qualified teachers or extra teachers or for increasing the wages of existing teachers.¹⁶ However the LSB's inspector, T.M. Williams, was critical of the standard of training in the schools he had inspected when questioned in 1882 by the commissioners. Despite considering that voluntary managers produced better schools than board managers he reported that 'they pay more attention to the clothing and the feeding of the children than they do to their industrial training'.¹⁷

Where school board schools did establish their own schools they could raise money from the rates. Although they were accountable to the ratepayers, they did not need to put as much emphasis on choosing trades which provided an income as did voluntary schools. At the Brentwood Industrial School, founded by the LSB, there was a farm and garden as well as both a tailors' and shoemakers' shop. These two latter occupations produced items for the boys themselves thus saving costs but the farm and garden made a loss of £4.3.11 in 1894 when the LSB's inspector reported 'much progress in the technical instruction class in the use of tools and woodwork with applied drawing' and 'good elementary geography and mental arithmetic in the upper standards'.¹⁸ Brentwood seems to have a different way of looking at trade instruction and treated it more like the technical training introduced later into secondary schools.

INDUSTRIAL TRAINING

There were four main attributes required of trade work/instruction and these can be described as those which:

1. provided the basic needs of the children themselves
2. taught non-educative work - 'habits of industry'
3. were financially rewarding
4. taught a trade which was likely to be useful later

The choice of trades was in the hands of the managers but was limited by the need to produce an income for their schools and by the availability of suitable staff. Children in industrial schools frequently came from backgrounds where their own family had failed them. The care and training provided in industrial schools needed to make up for the lack of life skills which normal family life would have provided as well as exposure and involvement in family trades.

1. Simple Self-Care

The majority of industrial schools chose to include the 'ragged school' occupations of tailoring and shoemaking for boys and sewing and laundry work for girls. These trades were originally chosen by ragged schools to provide essential care for the children who had arrived ragged and hungry and proved useful ways of providing clothes and meals in industrial schools. Carpentry and gardening were

frequent additions to these basic occupations, and as well as teaching skills they enabled maintenance work to be done at the school and provided food for the kitchen.

2. Habits of Industry

The benefit of teaching 'habits of industry' could be attributed to almost any occupation and was used to justify some of the non-educative work. Some occupations such as oakum picking and hair-teasing were reminiscent of the workhouse, other occupations including paper bag making and wood chopping could be developed to provide a useful source of income. The Boys' Farm Home managers wrote in their 1879 annual report 'although the work done by the younger boys was profitable to themselves morally, it seldom brought any financial return'.¹⁹

The Boys' Farm Home also encouraged the work of wood chopping but not on quite such a large scale as the London Boys' Home described earlier. The managers justified the need for the work on the grounds of keeping the boys occupied rather than an income from the sale of wood. They wrote:

There is no branch of industry that can be more valuable to the boys than that carried on in the woodshed, it being independent of weather. The Committee therefore beg their neighbours to continue to give their custom to the Institution and thereby aid in rescuing destitute boys from the mischief which it is proverbial that Satan finds for idle hands to do.²⁰

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century in particular, there was increasing criticism of the trades which were not considered to be of any educational benefit. As financial pressures decreased with the growing government support, managers were able to reduce their reliance on financially rewarding work and put more emphasis on work which was of educational benefit to the children. Mary Barnett wrote in 1913, 'in recent years much improvement has been seen and those occupations such as oakum picking, paper bag and matchbox making, which have no educational value, have been discontinued'.²¹ This reduction in uneducative work was reflected at the Boys' Farm Home, whose annual report for 1929 stated that 'generally it may be said that the amount of uneducative work which the boys are called upon to do is no longer excessive'.²²

3. Financially rewarding

The need to produce an income could be detrimental to the education of children in industrial schools. T.H. Williams, an LSB inspector, told the government commissioners in 1882 that he was concerned that school work stopped when an order came in for items being produced such as paper bags. There was also often a conflict between teaching a skill and earning money. If work was to be produced to a sufficient standard for sale, the most effective way was for the work to be broken

down into units and for each child to become proficient at one aspect of the work. This was not the best way for a child to learn the trade. Older children were generally more skilful and more likely to be able to generate an income. In 1879 the annual report of the Boys' Farm Home commented 'the work of the boys over twelve is in general in some degree remunerative...the sale of milk is continuing to be very profitable...the market garden has also made a profit and afforded instruction for boys with an interest in gardening. The firewood sale was good.'²³ The income generated from the sale of firewood was much lower than at the Boys' Home. In 1876 £102.9.9d. worth of bundles were sold at a cost of £20. 17. 2d. This figure had grown to £243.19.9d in 1891, with a cost of £77.9.11. A far greater income was produced from the sale of milk, butter and eggs, which turned over £549.13.11, whilst the tailors and the shoemakers both produced work valued at £117.²⁴

4. Training for Work

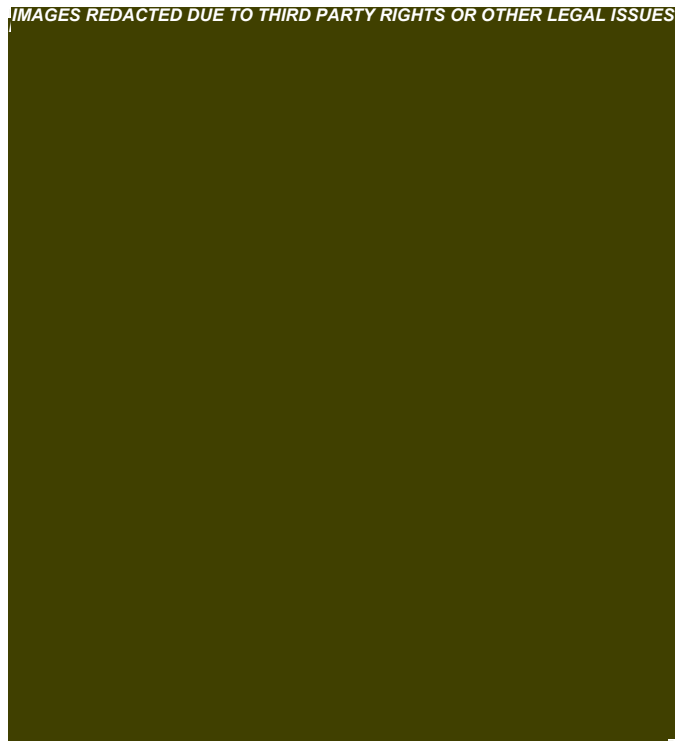
It was the interest and expectation of the managers that determined the range of trades taught. Some managers were more ambitious for their charges than others and included training in subjects such as printing and engineering. At the Hayes Jewish Industrial School Morris Cohen, the son of Polish immigrants, believed the most valuable thing he learnt was elocution. Appendix F shows a list of various trades and types of work which were performed in industrial schools and examples of how the schools carried out instruction in practice are covered below.

(a) Tailoring and Shoemaking

These were trades taught in the majority of industrial schools and had their origins in the ragged schools. The first aim of the work was to produce and mend the children's own clothes and shoes but some schools took in work from outside. How much skill was imparted to the children varied from school to school. At some of the larger schools such as Feltham, boys often learnt only a small part of the trade and did not become proficient at producing a complete garment. Other schools took the teaching of the trade more seriously although not many of the boys would take up the work on leaving. Mary Barnett wrote in 1913 that just three per cent of children leaving the schools from 1908 to 1910, took up the trades of tailoring or shoemaking.²⁵

If the Earl of Shaftesbury is to be believed the quality of the work in some schools was high. Boys at the Boys' Home, Regents Park produced a coat for him in 1883 which he referred to in a letter to the chaplain as follows 'Now, as to the details, the coat is an excellent fit. How they contrived to do by imagination what my practical tailors cannot do by actual measure is a marvel to me. It speaks well for their teachers.'²⁶

Figure 6.3

THE BOYS' HOME - TAILORS' WORKSHOP

Most of the early tailoring work appears to have been done by hand but in 1890 the Boys' Home reported the acquisition of a brand new Singer sewing machine. In 1894 there were 9 tailors, 14 shoemakers, two printers, five carpenters and 27 boys in the band. The tailors shop at the Boys' Home was described as follows:

In the midst of the boys...little boys who are stitching away merrily, like elves in the fairy tale. At one end, on the regular tailor's board, the master tailor sits, cross-legged, after the manner of tailors, while several youths, cross-legged also on the same shop board, represent the skilled element in the workshop. Below these elder ones stand and sit...the rest of the elves, who are patching, piecing, darning, sewing on buttons and stitching up rents. These tailor-boys, with ordinary good conduct, will be able to make a living for themselves anywhere. The boys, indeed cannot all be tailors but they all will attain sufficient skill to patch and repair their own clothes, and that is an accomplishment which will stand them in good stead in any part of the world in which they may be thrown.²⁷

At the Boys' Farm Home, in 1876 the accounts showed that the sum of £174.12.0d. was spent on clothing and £42.9.5d. on outfits. Ten of the 69 boys were involved in tailoring and shoemaking and were reported as making good progress. The shoemaker and four of the boys made all the boots for the boys and they also did

work for other schools and private customers. The 1879 annual report stated that the tailoring and bootmaking departments were run to save the home money and make a small profit. In the needlework room about a dozen of the youngest boys, some under the age of nine, did all the sewing for the home, including shirt-making and mending, sock darning, repairs of jerseys and caps and the making and repairing of household linen. The tailor and four boys made all the boys' outfits as well as doing outside work on two days a week.

(b) Woodwork

With the exception of the 'cabinetmaking' of the Boys' Home described earlier, the woodwork was mostly practical and basic but was still a useful skill that could save schools' money and provide a little extra income. At the Boys' Farm Home the labour master with a gang of boys put up a new park fence nearly a third of a mile in length for a neighbouring land owner. The boys also benefited from helping the labour master in a good deal of skilled work about the farm buildings. The annual report stated; 'The value of such training is brought home in the letters of boys who emigrated and are now doing yeoman's service in Canada and the United States'.²⁸

(c) Farmwork

Many schools had gardens where the children worked; the Hereford Industrial School had a large garden plot which they cultivated. Others were set up as farm schools specifically to teach farming skills. In 1929 21 schools were listed in the Annual Charities Register as country and farm industrial schools. Two of these schools, the Standon Bridge Boys' Farm school in Staffordshire and the Walsham-le-Willows school, near Bury St Edmunds, were run by the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society. The former school was certified in 1885 for 60 boys and the latter in 1896 for 40 boys. According to Mary Barnett 15 per cent of the children who left between 1908 and 1910 took up farmwork.²⁹

It was suggested that these schools could cater for children who were less fit and needed country air but this does not seem to have worked in practice since the type of work needed the children to be strong in the first place. However there was a special school for mentally retarded girls which was described as a horticultural school; this was the Dovecot or Knotty Ash Special Horticultural School in Liverpool. It was for 'high grade, feeble minded girls' aged between seven and 12 and was certified for 58 girls. Another special school was the Stoke Park Colony for mentally deficient boys and girls. It was certified for 1,578 children and unusually was run with a woman superintendent, by the National Institution for Persons Requiring Care and Control.³⁰

At the Boys' Farm Home in 1879 the farm consisted of 48 acres, the crop of oats was described as 'good', there were no root crops but a fair hay crop and a crop

of cabbage. The school also had a crop of watercress, which was sold locally as well as other garden produce and the boys ran a local milk round and had cows and pigs. The profits from the farm usually covered the wages of the master-workman who taught the boys and the farm provided a source of food for the home and a small income.

At first farming skills were fairly basic but they became more technical and by 1913 the Royal Horticultural Society offered certificates to boys under the age of 18, who showed they were capable of running small gardens profitably and scholarships could be granted, giving a two years' course at the Society's school. The quality of the training varied from farm school to farm school. When in 1898 the LCC reported on the organisation of the Feltham and Mayford schools they were critical of Feltham and considered:

it should be conducted more along the lines of the Church Farm School, East Barnet, which has been visited by our Chairman and the Clerk of the Committee. At this School half the boys are at work on the farm and go through all branches of it. They go first to the land, then to the cowsheds, stable and dairy, where they learn the care of stock, how to groom and ride a horse, milk a cow, churn, clean milk vessels etc. They receive theoretical instruction in agriculture and physiography from the Superintendent, who is recognised by the Science and Art Department, and lectures are also given in botany.³¹

The boys at the Boys' Farm Home competed for prizes in draining and the rotation of crops and took certificates in 'Elementary Agriculture' with the South Kensington Department of Science and Art.

(c) Training for the Services

The managers of industrial schools considered the services ideal careers for their children since they provided a home for those with none or for those from bad homes, the services gave the children the opportunity of breaking away. The Royal Navy was, however, often reluctant to take children they considered had criminal backgrounds and whilst some children were accepted the majority of those who joined the Navy joined the Merchant Navy. Mary Barnett calculated that between 1908 and 1910 26 per cent of the children leaving industrial schools joined the services. This was made up of 17 per cent who joined the army and nine per cent the Navy; of these latter boys three per cent joined the Royal Navy and six per cent the Merchant Navy.³²

Seven industrial schools specialised in nautical training, some were shore based but the majority at least began on ships. As well as being examined by the Home Office inspectors in the usual way, Admiralty inspectors also periodically

examined the schools on seamanship and nautical drill. By 1913 training on board the training ship *Clio*, which was moored in the Menai Straits, Bangor, included teaching the following:

Parts of the ship, rigging etc. Reefing and furling sails etc. Compass and steering Lead and log lines Rules of the road Knotting and splicing Sail-making etc Fire drill. as well as gunnery training in:

Heavy gun 4 inch B.
6 Pounder, 2 F and 7 Pounder field gun
Rifle drill
Magazine carbine
Morris tube practice³³

Mary Barnett described the training as comprehensive and typical of the work of other ship schools. She considered the technical side of the training to be very thorough. Industrial school children were particularly suited to service life because they were used to a disciplined and regulated lifestyle. Whilst many ordinary schoolchildren were taught drill, in industrial schools this was generally of a higher standard because ex-soldiers were often employed as instructors. The teaching of musical instruments meant that boys were in demand for services' bands and school bands could also provide an income for the schools through their hire for functions, as happened at the Boys' Home. Drill and band practice usually took place outside the periods set aside for schoolwork and industrial training.

The training of girls was usually less imaginative than that of boys and consisted primarily of domestic work. However, it was possible to obtain higher levels of training at the Elm House School in Fulham, which provided technical education for girls who obtained scholarships from other industrial schools.

The range of industrial training did change. The need to produce an income and the more heavily criticised workhouse type skills were dropped first, then the ragged school skills of tailoring and shoemaking came under criticism and were reduced. More technical instruction was introduced and, as the time spent in the school room increased, technical instruction moved over to be included as part of the school day. Trained technical instructors replaced the tradesmen and better and more up to date equipment was introduced. Some schools introduced more advanced technical instruction earlier than other schools. John Bowden, the master of the Boys' Farm Home, had introduced it as early as 1873. Bowden gave a paper on technical education at a meeting of the Reformatory and Refuge Union in 1885 when he claimed that industrial schools could play a part in the technical education of Britain's workforce.

EDUCATION

When industrial schools were established the founders and the Government both saw elementary education as necessary but of secondary importance to industrial training. Generally three hours a day were considered sufficient to impart the knowledge needed to equip the children for their expected roles in society. This was the same period of time that 'half-timers' who worked in factories, were allowed and some of the attitudes behind half-time work were reflected in the timetables of industrial schools. The Home Office discouraged a high standard of education. A report in 1881 recommended the following:

I would strongly advise that a limit be set at the Fifth Standard. This is about as much as we can attain to in schools of this character, and with the limited time allotted to school education. To attempt to go beyond this generally results in failure, and has a damaging influence in exactness and accuracy.³⁴

The 1884 commissioners showed signs of an increased interest in raising standards of education in industrial schools. They stated that they attached great importance to the thorough elementary education of the children and that it should be similar, as far as possible, to that which children received in public elementary schools. They complained that education was taking second place to industrial training and recommended that children under ten should attend school on a full time basis and only do light industrial work to keep them occupied out of school hours. They reported that:

In many of the industrial schools which we have visited we have noticed young and very small children put to half-time industrial work, when they would have been much more beneficially employed in school; and, on the other hand we have found older children suffering in their later years from backwardness in school and after leaving the school on license or discharge, without having passed so much as the third...standard.³⁵

This was not always the case and the commissioners also found the following 'In other schools we have found a practice prevailing of keeping the children in school full time i.e. for at least four hours' secular instruction daily, until they have passed the third standard'.³⁶

Schools usually taught the three Rs but managers were free to add any other subjects which they felt appropriate. Appendix G lists the range of subjects which were taught in schools. In 1891 at the Boys' Farm Home in addition to the usual basic subjects the boys were being taught the principles of agriculture, physiology and drawing and for which they were being criticised by the inspector. He wrote in his

report 'rather too much is attempted; extra subjects have their value; but good reading, writing and arithmetic are of more importance'.³⁷

The school boards appointed their own inspectors who examined the standards of education very much as they would in ordinary elementary schools. School board inspectors tended to have higher expectations as far as education was concerned, compared to other bodies. Scrutiny by the boards could bring with it criticism of educational standards together with financial rewards for the appointment of additional and qualified staff.

One of the most active boards was the LSB whose inspector reported in 1893:

though some schools have improved considerably of late, in the majority there is little or no attempt to awaken and develop intelligence. Reading is not taught with a view to inspire love for reading, neither for the interest it awakens, nor the delight it affords. Composition, even of the simplest kind, is practically unknown. Arithmetic is a matter of rule rather than a process of reasoning, and mechanical accuracy the all important goal. We usually, not always, miss Recitation, Drawing, Object Lessons, Singing by Note, English, Geography, History; and, in fact, most of those things which tend to make a school efficient, and withal pleasing and attractive.³⁸

and in 1894 when asked if the education in industrial schools was comparable with that in elementary schools he replied:

Admitting exceptions, a few of them notable exceptions, decidedly not. The education is distinctly inferior. There is but a very scant training of the intellectual faculties, and latent tastes and powers are very little developed. The work is good of its kind, and rubbed in in many cases, with a persistence and a perseverance worthy of a better cause. It is the quality, not so much the quantity, which is at fault. To the uninitiated it is the education in the standards as prescribed by the Day School Code; to the initiated it is the dry bones of the Standard work.³⁹

In the LSB's Final Report in 1904 it was stated that 'education in the schoolroom was of a low type and the industrial training was considered the more important part of the work'.⁴⁰ The 1894 report of the London School Board showed that during the year 31 industrial schools were inspected, two of which were the board's own schools. They examined 2,219 children, which was not all the children sent by the boards since there were some who were sick, absent or unavailable for other reasons and others who were at full time work. The proportions of children reaching each Standard have been extracted and are listed below:

Below Standard I	6.1%
Passed Standard I	12.6%

II	18.2%
III	19.4%
IV	20.5%
V	17%
VI	6%
VII	0.05% ⁴¹

These figures show that of the children sent by the Board, 39 per cent were in Standards III and IV, with 36 per cent below that level and 23 per cent above. On the surface this appears to show a reasonably good level of attainment. However a direct comparison between these statistics and those for children attending elementary schools is difficult since the ages of children at industrial schools are likely to be higher. According to the 1891 Home Office inspectors report, the majority of the children were aged between ten and 12. The next largest group were those aged 12 to 14 and the two other groups, those aged six to eight and eight to ten were much smaller.⁴²

The 1904 report of the LSB stated that of 116 industrial schools, 87 had reached Standard VI with nearly 1,200 scholars and 28 had Standard VII with over 200 scholars. The subjects taught included reading, writing, spelling and arithmetic, all the schools took mental arithmetic, geography and singing; 110 took recitation, 101 composition, 96 object lessons, 65 drawing and 9 English grammar, and 52 history.⁴³

At a time when the 1862 Revised Code was bringing standardisation of education to elementary schools, the Government showed a little interest in regulating the curriculum of industrial schools. This may be because although industrial schools were initially supervised by the Education Department, that department quickly absolved itself of responsibility by having the schools transferred to the Home Office. Towards the end of the century members of the Reformatory and Refuge Union were recommending that the Education Department should be responsible for examining the standards of education in industrial schools and the Home Office inspector for inspecting the remainder of the schools' activities. This does not seem to have been introduced but in 1913 a few Education Department inspectors were invited to inspect the standards of education in some of the Home Office schools', of which, not surprisingly, they were critical. In general, legislation which was introduced to regulate education in elementary schools had no legal force in industrial schools, which could choose whether or not to apply it to themselves.

Industrial schools were isolated from the elementary school system due in part to the distancing exhibited by the Education Department, but also because the staff rarely moved between the two systems. This resulted in a lack of permeation of new ideas and changes in education to industrial schools and a lack of understanding of

industrial schools by Education Department inspectors, exemplified in the 1913 commissioners' report. Changes in attitudes towards the employment and education of children did eventually create changes in the schools. The length of the school day was increased and the emphasis on industrial training decreased. The proportion of children spending the whole day in school grew and after 1918 those under the age of 14 generally spent the same amount of time in school as elementary schoolchildren.

CONCLUSION

The managers were influenced in the choice of curriculum by their own backgrounds and experiences in the treatment of destitute and vagrant children, by the financial needs of their schools and the quality and availability of suitable staff. There was little standardisation and schools could vary widely in the range and quality of their teaching both from school to school and from time to time. The schools were in existence at a time when attitudes towards the employment of children underwent considerable change. Whilst both reformatory and industrial schools were under the same inspectorate it is clear that the founders and managers of industrial schools viewed the schools differently and, since it was they who largely influenced the management of the schools, it seems probable that there were differences in the way they were run and the attitudes towards the children they cared for. A number of schools need to be examined to make an accurate assessment of the standard of training and education provided in industrial schools.

Despite the wide range of ideas on the management of industrial schools there was a commonly held aim, that the schools should ensure that their children would be equipped with skills that enabled them to lead useful, independent lives without resorting to crime. The three main groups of people involved in the schools, the founders and managers, the government and the magistrates, agreed that this could best be brought about by providing both industrial training and a basic education. This was the ethos behind the industrial school movement. Where opinions differed was in the choice of the particular type of industrial training to be given, the range of subjects to be taught and the standard at which both should be provided.

Hurt based his unfavourable conclusions on evidence of the 1913 Departmental Committee and on the 23rd Report of the Home Office inspector. The reports he cited did criticise the schools, but they also complimented the schools on their work. The 1913 committee was of the opinion that 'education given in the certified schools is generally fair and sometimes good of its kind, but the methods differ to some extent from those now prevalent in the elementary schools' and that 'today industrial training takes many useful and varied forms'.⁴⁴

The committee heard reports from the Home Office inspectors, two of whom had worked in the elementary schools service as well as the chief inspector of

elementary schools and two of his colleagues. Inspectors from the Education Department had been invited to inspect 13 schools chosen by the committee. It is apparent that the Home Office inspectors and those from the Education Department had different expectations and came to somewhat different conclusions regarding the standards in the schools. It was an Education Department inspector who criticised the education as having fallen behind the standard taught in elementary schools and as lacking the improvements recently brought into the latter schools. Mr Pearson, a Home Office inspector, maintained that for most children in industrial schools the older methods were actually better and that the new ones 'would have involved the loss of some of the qualities of care, thoroughness and accuracy, which were the virtues of the older system'.⁴⁵

It is particularly revealing that Mr Bulley, who had worked for 16 years in the elementary school system and two years as an inspector of reformatory and industrial schools, said 'his first impression was that the certified schools were behind the elementary, but as he gained more knowledge of them, he was impressed by the reliability and accuracy of the work done in them, and came to the conclusion that their successes were solid'.⁴⁶

Hurt wrote 'the commonest occupations were chopping firewood, picking hair and straightening nails', which does not appear to have been the case.⁴⁷ The range of subjects was wide and the trades that were most frequently taught were tailoring and shoemaking. Even when work such as 'wood-chopping' was included this did not necessarily mean the school itself was poor. The London Boys' Home which made substantial use of this work continued doing so until 1913 but this was a particularly good school.

When judging the quality today, the values of the time and the huge changes that took place in both the attitudes towards the education and employment of children need to be taken into account. Bearing in mind the constraints of the limited source material and its accessibility the writer has examined as wide a range of schools as she could. The overall picture is that the standard and range of subjects taught in the schoolroom were generally fairly basic and lagged behind the 'improvements' introduced into elementary schools during the latter quarter of the nineteenth century.

Trade instruction was considered to be the more important of the two aspects of education. The aims were broader than merely teaching a specific occupation to be followed for life. Whilst most elementary schools had a practical element in their school work industrial schools took it further, spending a greater proportion of their day and learning a much wide range of subjects. Children at the schools underwent a range of training that they would not have received elsewhere. Whilst it may not have

led to a career in that specific field the practical aspects of their education did frequently make them more acceptable and popular as employees.

There was a change in attitudes towards both education and trade instruction over the period 1857-1933. Whilst educational change lagged behind improvements in elementary schools, industrial training in some schools was developed into a form of technical instruction not found in elementary schools. This technical instruction was introduced into the school room to back up the practical training and work. In 1981 David Thomas suggested in his article 'Industrial Schools, Forgotten Precursors in Industrial Education', that industrial schools could have played a part in the introduction of vocational training into the education system.⁴⁸

The freedom of choice left to the managers meant that there were many exceptions to these generalisations. There were both exceptionally good schools and appallingly bad ones. What mattered most of all was whether the training and education worked for the children themselves and it does seem that the period spent in industrial schools did make the children more attractive employees. This aspect will be covered in more detail in a later chapter when discussing what happened to the children after they had left.

Notes

- ¹Many of these are available at the London Metropolitan Archives
- ²Select Committee on the Execution of the Criminal Law - PP HL 1847 (441,534) quoted by Mary Carpenter in *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes* (London 1851) p. 54
- ³Select Committee on the Execution of the Criminal Law - PP HL 1847 II vol. II p. 8
- ⁴Select Committee on the Execution of the Treatment of Criminal and Destitute Children - PP 1852-3 XXIII p. iii quoted by W.B. Sanders in *Juvenile Offenders for 1,000 years* (N. Carolina 1970) p. 239
- ⁵Hansard 15 Feb 1857 CXLIV col. 476
- ⁶Hansard 8 Jul 1857 XLVI col. 1142
- ⁷*Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal* March 1879 p. 17
- ⁸Hansard 30 Jul 1860 p. 847
- ⁹J.A. Stack, 'Interests and Ideas in Nineteenth Century Social Policy, the Mid-Victorian Reformatory School' *The Journal of Educational Administration & History* 1982 vol. XIV no. 1 p. 36
- ¹⁰Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1885) p 14
- ¹¹Mary Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Dangerous Classes* (London 1851) p. 166
- ¹²Shown at Appendix E
- ¹³*Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal* 1886 p. 7
- ¹⁴The Story of the Boys' Home (1890) p. 5
- ¹⁵Sam Shaw, *Guttersnipe* (London 1946) p. 77
- ¹⁶London School Board - Final Report 1904 ch. VI para. 3
- ¹⁷Report of the Commissioners on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1884 (3876) XLV para. 7484
- ¹⁸London School Board - Report of the Industrial Schools Committee 1894
- ¹⁹Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report 1879 p. 12
- ²⁰Boys Farm Home - Annual Report
- ²¹Mary Barnett, *Young Delinquents* (London 1913) p. 113
- ²²Boys Farm Home, Annual Report 1929
- ²³Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report 1879 p 12
- ²⁴Boys Farm Home - Annual Reports 1876 p. 23 & 1891 pp. 12 & 13
- ²⁵Mary Barnett, *Young Delinquents* (London 1913) p. 113
- ²⁶The Story of the Boys' Home p. 3
- ²⁷Ibid. p. 4
- ²⁸Boys' Farm Home, Annual Report 1879
- ²⁹Mary Barnett, *Young Delinquents* (London 1913) p. 113

- ³⁰Annual Charities Register (London 1929)
- ³¹*Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal* Sept. 1898 p. 353
- ³²Mary Barnett, *Young Delinquents* (London 1913) p. 113
- ³³*Ibid.* pp. 108,109
- ³⁴Final Report of the London School Board (1904) p. 327
- ³⁵Report of the Government Commissioner - PP 1884 para. 24 p. xx
- ³⁶*Ibid.*
- ³⁷35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1892 (6733) XLIII.I p. 159
- ³⁸Report of the Inspector of the London School Board 1893
- ³⁹Report of the LSB Inspector 1894
- ⁴⁰The London School Board Final Report 1904 p.
- ⁴¹The London School Board - Report of the Industrial Schools' Committee 1894
- ⁴²35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1892 (6733) XLIII.I p. 32
- ⁴³The Final Report of the London School Board 1904 p. 238
- ⁴⁴Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838) XXXIX
- ⁴⁵*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁶*Ibid.*
- ⁴⁷J.S. Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream* (London 1988)
- ⁴⁸D.H. Thomas, 'Industrial Schools, Forgotten Precursors in Vocational Education; *The Vocational Aspect of Education* Aug 1981 vol. XXXIII no. 85

CHAPTER VII

ASPECTS OF CARE

INTRODUCTION

The Industrial Schools Act of 1857 was introduced to provide 'Care and Education' for 'vagrant, destitute and disorderly Children'.¹ Having examined 'education' in the previous chapter, the 'care' the schools provided is now explored. The topic has been divided into two main headings; first that of physical and secondly spiritual welfare. On the whole these are aspects of care for which the parents would normally have taken responsibility.

Many modern historians view industrial schools as institutions that were far from caring ones and almost invariably study them alongside reformatory schools, as though they were one and the same. Stephen Humphries has a poor opinion of the care provided in these Home Office schools. He argued in 1981 that reformatories (and by implication industrial schools) were institutions of 'class control, designed to inculcate discipline and obedience in working-class children and youth' with a 'regimented routine...enforced by recourse to harsh disciplinary methods and...brutal punishment' and that 'the inmates enjoyed no rights, no privacy and no free time'.² J.S. Hurt wrote in 1984 that 'children in both industrial and reformatory schools underwent a disciplined and oppressive routine of hard work and severe punishment, austere living conditions and a spartan diet'.³ The aim of this chapter is to establish whether or not these descriptions give a fair picture. How children were disciplined is dealt with separately in the next chapter.

When industrial schools were first established there was little direction from the Government as to their day-to-day running. Recommendations on the administration of the schools did begin to be introduced, but the Home Office lacked enforcement powers and only had the ultimate power of the removal of their certificate, a power the department was very reluctant to use. This inevitably meant that no universal standard of care was established and that schools varied widely in their provision of care. In order to be able to assess the quality of the care, the management of individual schools and the experiences of children need to be investigated.

The sources used in this chapter are therefore primarily local in character and include material generated by managers and staff and, where possible, the children. Evidence from children is particularly difficult to secure but a limited number of oral reminiscences have been obtained from former inmates and their families, as well as correspondence. The records of a range of schools have been examined. Unfortunately the survival of records is random and inconsistent, limiting the

coverage that can be achieved. Centrally generated material has also been examined. The amount of available evidence increased over the period covered by this thesis, as the various government committees reported and expectations for the level of child-care rose. Towards the end of the nineteenth century this led to the expansion of the inspectors' annual reports to include the topics of physical training and health.

The Reformatory and Refuge Union used its conferences and journals to discuss and promote methods that industrial schools should use to care for the children in their charge. Its journals included reports on visits to schools together with papers by managers and staff on welfare. The Union sent inspectors into the schools as did the school boards and these reports, together with those of the Home Office inspectors, shed further light on the provision of care. It needs to be borne in mind, however, that these inspectors spent a very limited amount of time at each school and rarely, if ever, saw more than they were meant to see.

HEALTH

Since the industrial schools acts were introduced to provide for vagrant and destitute children, as well as disorderly ones, inevitably these children were likely to be in a physically poor state on admission. Chapter III investigated the children's family circumstances and recognised the high proportion with deficient family backgrounds. One important element of their failure was the lack of an adequate diet. The London Boys' Home reported in 1894 that 'a large part of the boys come to us considerably below the average height and weight, the effects of early neglect and want are sometimes pitiable'.⁴ This was confirmed by the evidence of Mary Carpenter, who wrote in 1875 of the children being sent to the Park Row school that 'many come to us in a miserable plight, sickly and with tendencies to various diseases'.⁵

This poor condition of children on admission was not confined to the early years but continued into the next century. In 1904 the London School Board reported, 'The inmates of industrial schools have in many cases been the victims of underfeeding and neglect from their infancy'.⁶ In 1913 Dr Braithwaite, the part-time medical adviser to the chief inspector, reported that the children admitted to industrial schools 'have usually been starved and neglected from infancy, and have never had a chance of growing or filling out, and are admitted to schools in the poorest possible condition'.⁷

The evidence of the children themselves sheds some further light on the question. Kylie Gay, who was sent to the Cumberland Industrial School at Cockermouth in 1912, said that there had never been any food in the two rooms he shared with his mother and that if she had any money it tended to be spent in the pub. When, on arrival at Cockermouth, Kylie was given cake and milk, his previously

uncertain supply of food is borne out by the fact that he ate only half the cake, saving the rest for later. He couldn't remember having had milk before and reflected that he had no wish to run away from his escort on the journey north, since this man was prepared to supply both cake and tea.

This was not always the case. Morris Cohen said the food he had received both at home and at the Hayes Industrial School in the early 1900s, had been 'wholesome and sufficient' but did not equal the appetising quality and quantity of that he received when working on a farm in Canada.⁸

The children sent to industrial schools were viewed as innocent of any crime and the period of their committal was not meant to be a period of punishment but one providing positive care to ensure the children left as active, useful and self-sufficient citizens. Nor was it intended that the principle of 'less eligibility', which limited the level of care provided under the Poor Law, should be applied in industrial schools, although there was some anxiety that critics of the schools would find fault with too generous a diet. The care in industrial schools was therefore planned to include simple, regular, adequate meals which would improve the children's health.

Views varied on the ideal quality of meals. Mary Carpenter, who considered that the children's constitutions had been 'often impaired from early neglect', believed that they needed 'a good nourishing diet' when they were introduced to 'regular habits' and work in the schools.⁹ She also advised that the standard and quantity needed to be 'of a level that contributed to the physical health and strength of the children' but that 'it should be simple, good of its kind and prepared and served well'. Bearing potential criticism in mind, she added 'It should not pamper or over-indulge the children'.¹⁰ The weekly menu was generally set by the superintendent and agreed by the managers and the MO but it had to be seen and signed by the Home Office inspector. It was generally repeated with little variation, although some schools such as Feltham did have a two weekly alternating menu and the Boys' Farm Home menu was subject to minor variation in winter and summer.¹¹

Each portion of food was strictly measured and appears to have compared favourably with the amounts provided in workhouses and prisons. Dickens in *Household Words* pointed out that the men in the new model prison at Clerkenwell were receiving more food than the poor in the St Pancras' workhouse. District schools provided very basic and limited meals. At Hanwell the managers were reputed to spend twice as much on their children as other establishments but, despite this, the diet has been described as 'meagre and dull by today's standards' and 'in the early days children must often have felt very hungry'.¹² Bread formed the major element of the diet in all institutions. At Pentonville prison the weekly allowance for adults was 140oz., and at St Pancras workhouse 96oz. At Hanwell in 1858 it was

93oz. for the younger children, those from five to nine, and 114oz. for the older ones. The Park Row Industrial School provided between 96oz. and 112oz. and Feltham 119oz. plus 12oz. biscuit.¹³ These quantities appear to have been fairly general in both industrial schools and reformatory schools. The Leeds reformatory school provided a substantial 137oz. of bread and supplemented it with suet puddings, porridge and pies.¹⁴

Despite the apparently precisely drawn up diets children did not always actually receive all they were supposed and sometimes the quality was such as to render the food inedible. This appears to have happened at the Shibden RC Industrial School in Leeds in the early 1880s. Dr T.M. Dolan of Halifax had been the MO since the founding of the school in 1877 but had only visited the school a few times. At an inquiry into conditions at the school, he asserted that the dietary table which had been signed by Col. Inglis, the government inspector, was 'amply sufficient' but despite this in 1884 the newly appointed superintendent, Revd Father Downes, described the boys as 'literally starving to death' when he had taken over. Father Downes had found the menu in the dining room, but said that it had not been strictly adhered to and he had found it necessary to improve it.¹⁵ This was confirmed by the boys' evidence. An inmate called Thomas Kenney, had been transferred from the nearby, school board run, Shadwell to Shibden. When questioned he said that he had had 'twice as much' to eat there as he had at the latter school. He added that once Father Downes was appointed the food came up to the same level as that at Shadwell.¹⁶

The Home Office inspector who carried out the inquiry into the management of Shibden, which included criticism of the adequacy of the food supply, concluded that evidence as to that particular fault was not borne out, even though there were indications to the contrary. He did, however, accept that there had been irregular punishment and one of the most enthusiastically used forms of punishment was deprivation of meals. In 1883 according to the menu the boys over 13 should have received 140oz. of plain dry bread a week and the younger boys 104oz. Under Father Downes' new regime, the menu was made more varied and at breakfast, bread was provided in addition to porridge.¹⁷

On the other hand other schools did not limit the amount of food, particularly bread, that they provided. Frederick Goodey, who attended the Boys' Farm Home, said the boys there could have as much to eat as they wanted. The 1901 annual report added at the foot of its menu that although 8oz. and 4oz. respectively were the quantities specified on the menu, any boy wishing for more bread was allowed what he could eat. This was also the case at Shadwell and at St Joseph's, Sheffield, where a plate of bread was put on the table for girls to help themselves.

However children do not always appear to have found the level of food sufficient. Sam Shaw described the diet at Feltham as one of 'semi-starvation', despite the apparent adequacy of the published menu.¹⁸ Kylie Gay said he remembers continually being hungry at the Cockermouth School, although he added the rider that meals were enough at the time and it was possible to ask for more. Part of the explanation may be due to problems in the even distribution of food in less well run schools, where older and more assertive children could take more than their fair share. There was also a lack of supplementary food between meals. Mary Carpenter recommended that meal-times should be 'carried on in a quiet and proper manner to guard against greedy boys who had been known to take a large portion of the food of little lads, who feared to displease them even more than their masters'. She suggested that it was helpful to read an entertaining book to the children during meal-times.¹⁹

Views on the adequacy of food varied. The 1896 Commissioners did not seem to have believed the food insufficient since, although they recognised that a good many of the children in industrial schools were undersized, they did not attribute this to schools' diets but rather to hereditary causes or to neglect during early childhood. Schools chose their own menus, which were subject to the approval of their MOs and the Home Office inspector, but, unlike Poor Law schools, they were not subject to the local government board's approval. Whether MOs were effective in monitoring menus in all schools is difficult to establish. Frederick Goodey recalled that at the Boys' Farm Home if the medical officer didn't think the diet was right it was changed, but from the evidence of the Shibden school inquiry it would seem that they were not always so effective. The amount of food that was provided in some schools was sometimes barely sufficient. When in 1913 commissioners were discussing the deprivation of meals as a form of punishment they said 'We feel that diet in many schools is so near the minimum that deprivation of any regular meal cannot be justified'.²⁰ The Shibden school, when under the superintendence of Mr Gosling, was certainly one of these schools. Deprivation of meals was used as a frequent punishment for even the most minor of offences when he was the superintendent. How many schools were in this position is difficult to ascertain and would probably have varied as staff changed, as happened at Shibden. By way of contrast to that school, D.H. Thomas found that the diet was wholesome and adequate at the four industrial schools he investigated, and quoted the inspector of the Wellesley as reporting that the boys were 'Almost too well fed'.²¹ This comment emphasises the concern of being vulnerable to criticism for over-indulgence. However it is clear that the rigid structure of the school day that was imposed in all industrial schools would have meant that it was the time between meals when children

were likely to have become hungry, and Goodey remembers hiding food on a ledge under the dining room tables, for later retrieval.

Food tended to contain a large proportion of starch in the form of bread and potatoes. In most schools breakfast comprised an 8oz. piece of bread with butter or dripping and cocoa but some schools also provided porridge, reducing the quantity of bread. Dinner was usually between 4oz. and 5oz. of meat with potatoes and, once again, bread. Sometimes additional vegetables were provided and occasionally fish was served, generally on Fridays. When neither meat nor fish was supplied a pudding was provided. Supper or tea was usually bread and cocoa with sometimes a little cheese, jam or butter. At some schools like the London Boys' Home the amount of bread varied with the age of the boy. Sunday lunch was usually of a better quality and at Christmas special food was laid on and well wishers provided treats.

Farm schools and schools with large grounds grew their own vegetables for use in the kitchens and were more likely than other schools to include them on the menu. Fruit tended only to appear as 'stewed fruit' but the annual reports of some schools acknowledged the gift of more exotic fruit such as oranges and figs as well as apples from benefactors. Cakes were less common although, like fruit, they seem to have been donated from time to time.

The standard of food preparation and cooking was limited by the quality of the food, the cooking facilities and the abilities of the children who cooked the meals under supervision. Frederick Goodey recalled a missing bar of soap being found in the saucepan of potatoes, which would have made their flavour somewhat interesting! Kylie Gay remembered that, at his north of England school, sugar was never put on their morning porridge and the salt which was added could be overdone. On some occasions the porridge was extra watery and runny, on others it was solid. The efficient storage of food was a problem. At Shibden when Mr Gosling was in charge, it appears that the milk used on the morning porridge was frequently 'on the turn'. On the other hand St Joseph's kitchen was described by the inspector in 1923 'as though under a good chef'²² and the Boys' Farm Home was awarded prizes for both butter making and crops grown on from the boys' own allotments in the Reformatory and Refuge Union's 1906 exhibition.

On the positive side, work in the kitchen was generally popular for it provided access to extra food and could give a means of exercising influence over other children. Gay reported that at Cockermouth boys hung around outside the kitchen windows in the hope of being given 'hand outs'. His friendship with a boy working in the kitchens meant that his requests for more at mealtimes were often responded to but the food diminished in quantity as it was passed down a line of boys and he was often left with 'just a scrape'. At St Joseph's the regime seems to have been much

more relaxed. Four meals a day were served, with a hot drink at midday during winter. Prefects served the other children at their table. Meat, green vegetables and milk pudding were served on four days a week and unusually the girls were allowed to talk freely at mealtimes. At most schools mealtimes were silent affairs, although the 1896 Committee recommended that this practice should stop and quiet talk be encouraged.

Humphries cited the appropriation of food as 'one of the most common acts of resistance' in reformatory institutions.²³ Restricting the supply of food was a powerful means of exercising control over hungry youngsters and a weapon that could very easily be abused. Certainly children did steal food in industrial schools, sometimes through hunger because of a poor diet or punishment but it could also be done for fun and could include an element of resistance. Gay, who was involved in a food stealing and redistribution racket, described it as 'fun', and the sense of delight is still to be heard in his voice over 70 years later. Scavenging food had been a way of life for many of the children before they were sent to industrial schools. It was how they had survived. Mary Carpenter wrote in 1864 that the children had been used to fasting and feasting before they were sent to industrial schools and 'even take a pleasure in garbage which would be disgusting to an uninitiated taste'. She commented that boys in reformatory schools, 'even when abundantly fed, have been known to devour the contents of the pigs' trough, and girls to eat cats' meat and to ransack the ash-pit for decaying cabbage stumps'.²⁴ The offences listed in the Boys' Farm Annual Reports as 'petty' included scrumping fruit from neighbours' gardens. This matter seems to have been taken more seriously at Park Row where boys were punished with half a dozen strokes of the cane on bare skin for stealing three plums and lying about it in July 1863! Which offence was seen as the greater, the stealing or the lying is not clear. For scavenging to be an 'act of resistance' there needs to have been an element of anger against authority behind the stealing. On the whole this has not been obvious from this research although it may have been a contributory factor. Overall the motives seem to have been a mixture of seeking fun and alleviating hunger.

The financial position of the schools would have limited the amount that could be spent on food. At the Boys' Farm Home in 1901 'Provisions' accounted for £19.8.3d. at a time when there were 78 boys at the home.²⁵ The cost of feeding each boy was therefore just under 3/- a week, which was very much along the lines Mary Carpenter suggested. She thought, 'if managed with economy', the menu she recommended, did not need to cost more than 3/- a week for boys and 2/6d. for girls.²⁶ This was a sum that many poor families would have found difficult to match for their own children.

As assistant commissioner, Patrick Cumin, reported to the 1861 Newcastle Commission 'it is idle to attempt to teach a starving child'.²⁷ It was recognised that the first and most important step was to provide regular, adequate meals. However, more than just an improvement in the diet of the children was needed, it was necessary to provide physical exercise and medical care as well. At Park Row the honorary medical officer attributed the 'wonderful physical improvement' in 'poor, weak stunted lads' over a short period to 'regular food, cultivation of outdoor exercises, drill, gymnastics etc. plus constant and careful supervision'.²⁸ The managers of most schools, therefore, as well as ensuring that sufficient food was provided, took other steps to improve the health of the children in their schools.

Following the provision of a sustaining diet the next major priority needed to improve the health of children, was medical care. After committal by the courts but before children were sent to the schools, they were subject to a medical inspection on behalf of the authority responsible for their committal. It had to be shown that they were fit enough to benefit from the regime in industrial schools and that they had no contagious diseases. Despite this, the schools themselves, usually took measures to ensure that no illnesses could be spread by new inmates, by isolating them at least until the schools' own medical officer (MO) had examined them. On arrival children were generally deloused, bathed and given clean clothing.

The day to day health care of children was the province of the matron, provided there was one. One of the criticisms that the Home Office inspector frequently made of the RC boys schools, was that no matron was appointed in schools run by male religious orders. The MO was responsible for the overall health of the inmates, which included approving their diet, checking children on admission and at regular intervals and dealing with health problems as they arose. He was also responsible for ensuring that there was no excessive punishment and when Kylie Gay was 'listed' for birching at the Cumberland Industrial School, it was the MO who intervened and said he was not fit enough, and the punishment did not take place. The extent of involvement and the effectiveness of this officer could vary considerably from school to school. Dr Dolan, the MO at Shibden, appears to have taken little interest in the school, merely attending when called to do so.

By 1896 every school had appointed a medical officer but it is clear that they could vary greatly in their effectiveness. Some worked voluntarily, whilst others were paid amounts ranging from £10 to £100 per annum. The MO at the London Boys' Home received 7/- for each boy at the school and on admission each boy was sent to the doctor's home for a medical check. The doctor visited the school every week and once a quarter held an inspection, whilst the boys were having their bath. At St Joseph's their doctor also visited the home once a week. The girls were weighed and

malt extract was given to the least robust. Medical officers often attended a school for a number of years. At Feltham a Dr Kingsford was the first MO and, when he resigned after 30 years, his son took over.

The Reformatory and Refuge Union encouraged good health practices. The Union also offered guidance to schools in articles included in its *Journal*. In 1884 a form of report was included, which they suggested would be ideal for use by MOs following their quarterly inspection. The report included information as to the adequacy of the building, the health and diet of the inmates, their clothing, recreation and exercise. In 1890 Dr Wilson Bruce wrote an article entitled 'Medical Hints to Managers'.²⁹

As well as appointing doctors, many schools also appointed dentists who came into the schools at regular intervals to check on the children's teeth. The dentist at the London Boys' Home visited monthly, whilst that at St Joseph's visited once a quarter. At the Boys' Home he worked voluntarily, but was paid nine guineas a year for materials. Some schools also appointed opticians and chiropodists but to a much lesser degree. In 1896 the government recommended the inspection of eyes and teeth and complained that insufficient attention was being given to the use of spectacles.

How successful the managers' efforts were in improving the health of industrial schoolchildren is difficult to establish. There does appear to have been an increased desire on the part of the government to promote their improved health, and its committees increasingly examined the level of fitness and demanded improved standards. In 1910 a part-time medical adviser to the chief inspector was appointed and in 1913 the post became a full-time one. The 1913 Report called for more systematic medical care, with periodical medical inspection and reports. As far as death at the schools were concerned, the Revd W. Morrison, chaplain of Wandsworth Prison, reported that the death rate in industrial schools did not appear to have been particularly excessive for the time. In the ten year period from 1885 to 1894, there were 29.6 deaths per 1,000 children in industrial schools. The figures broke down in the following way:

	<u>Protestants</u>	<u>Roman Catholics</u>
Boys	3.7	9.4
Girls	5.7	10.8

He noted that there were many more deaths in Roman Catholic schools than in Protestant schools.³⁰ He added that when these schools were run by brothers there was no matron, that the schools spent less on clothes but more on food and he believed the figures might be attributable to the fact that there was a marked reluctance to send ill children away to hospitals. The number of deaths at the Boys'

Farm Home in the 54 years from 1860 to 1914, was 14 out of a total of 954 boys. One death was from typhoid fever, one from rheumatic fever and another from bone disease.³¹ At Park Row by 1875 only one boy had died and there were very few cases of serious illness.³²

At Feltham 105 deaths were recorded in its register from 1861 to 1909, which, bearing in mind the much greater number of boys involved, appears to have been at a similar ratio to that of the Boys' Farm Home. The largest number of boys, 16, died from pneumonia, the next largest number, 15, died from consumption, there were seven accidental deaths and one boy committed suicide at the school. Typhoid accounted for six deaths and 'other fevers' another seven. Brain disease and heart disease both caused six deaths.³³

On the whole industrial schools do not appear to have suffered from the high incidence of ophthalmia that occurred in Poor Law schools, however the often inadequate sanitation systems did give rise to various fevers. At Whitely Bay a high death rate in the late 1880s was put down to poor sanitation. At the Boys' Farm Home an outbreak of typhoid fever occurred in 1873 during a drought, when polluted water from a local brook was used in the laundry and for cleaning the school. Twenty one boys and four members of the master's family became ill and one boy died.³⁴

Some schools were located in isolated areas and this could work in their favour since they were less likely to become infected when there were local outbreaks of diseases. In 1848 the Newcastle Industrial School moved from its original location in Sandgate when the master died of fever, and in 1855 new premises were designed and built on the barrack plan in Jubilee Terrace, located five minutes drive away from Newcastle Central station. According to D.H. Thomas, the Newcastle school avoided smallpox, when two neighbouring towns were experiencing outbreaks, due to strict isolation.

Accidental injury was an inevitable feature of schools, particularly in relation to industrial work. Both the Newcastle and the Sunderland schools recorded a loss of fingers by boys working in their workshops. Preventive care took place in the form of regular medical inspections and at some schools vaccination, as happened in 1863 at Park Row when 23 boys were vaccinated. Many schools had their own infirmaries and only sent their children to local hospital for serious illnesses.

Having provided food and medical care, the managers of industrial schools sought to build up the strength of their inmates through physical education. This was done in a range of ways with varying degrees of enthusiasm and effectiveness. In the early years this was largely left up to individual schools but government took a growing interest. When industrial schools were first established drill was the primary form in which exercise was introduced. The Poor Law authorities had been the first

to use drill in their schools but they were quickly followed by reformatory and industrial schools. It was seen as a simple way of combining physical exercise with a form of control, and one that could be carried on easily, with little or no equipment. In addition, drill teachers were readily available from the ranks of ex-soldiers, many of whom had left the Army following the end of the Crimean war. Drill was introduced into the Revised Code in 1871 for elementary schools and a maximum of 40 hours a year counted as school attendance for grant purposes. By the 1880s drill had become an established part of the curriculum in both voluntary and board schools, although it started to fall out of favour towards the end of the century, and in 1897 the London School Board abandoned the drill competitions they had previously held and replaced drill with physical education. In the early part of the twentieth century, drill developed into less rigid routines and gymnastics started to take its place.

The influence of military principles that existed in Victorian public schools, reflected in their setting up cadet corps and rifle corps, was also an aspect of some industrial schools. Like industrial schools, the public schools appointed ex-army sergeants to teach gymnastics and drill. The London Boys' Home boasted an 'Ex - Aldershot' man, who had been recommended by a Colonel Fox. He went into the school every day to teach games and free gymnastics and the home also had a miniature rifle range. At Feltham the lodgekeeper was the gymnasium and drill instructor. Unusually, at Park Row, it was the secretary, Lant Carpenter, who took drill in addition to a Mr Whitwell.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of transition as far as sport generally was concerned, as people moved away from rural activities which involved chasing and catching animals, to organised games. According to Simon and Bradley the period was one with an 'all pervading ideology of 'muscular Christianity' derived from the writings of Hughes and Kingsley'.³⁵ Thomas Hughes was described as 'the prophet and high priest' of the games cult which swept the later Victorian public schools.³⁶ It is hardly surprising that the school over which they had considerable influence, the London Boys' Home, should find expression for their ideas in the school's curriculum. R.H. Glanfield reported in 1911 to government commissioners that at the Boys' Home not less than two hours a day was spent in PT, recreation and play and Wednesday afternoons were devoted to games. The boys played cricket and football and 75 per cent of the boys were modest swimmers. The school had a 'gymnasium of a kind' and all the appropriate equipment, including a vaulting horse, parallel bar and a climbing rope. In fine weather the playground was used. The school held an annual sports day and prizes were awarded for events such as running, high jump, long jump, horizontal bars and throwing cricket balls. Matches were played against outside bodies such as the Post Office and in 1891 16 matches

were played.³⁷ Since the school did not have its own sports fields it used the fields at Primrose Hill and the boys played cricket at the Eton and Middlesex ground.

The high quality of the sports training at the London Boys' Home was not necessarily typical of all industrial schools. Games such as cricket, football and netball for girls, were more difficult to introduce than drill because they had more specific needs including sports fields and equipment. Attitudes towards the appropriateness of more upper-class sports such as cricket seem to have filtered down to some of the boys. At Cockermouth Kylie Gay thought cricket too 'posh' a sport for him. Games also required staff capable of teaching these more complicated sports and trained games instructors were less readily available than drill instructors. Schools located in cities and towns did not have ready access to playing fields, although some schools overcame this problem by using public parks. The Sunderland and Newcastle schools were without playing fields, but the close proximity of the sea was seen as a compensation and the latter school used the Town Moor. At the Chester Industrial School in 1897 the managers rented a football field.

Increasingly the government tried to regulate the way in which physical exercise was carried out. The 1896 Departmental Committee considered that the children at industrial schools particularly needed physical stimulation. They reported that, 'At ordinary schools children may be left to themselves, not in these schools; playthings have to be provided and games organised'.³⁸ The Home Office tried to encourage sporting activities and ran competitions for its schools. There were six Home Office schools' athletic associations that ran annual shooting, and swimming competitions. Mr Embley, the superintendent of the Boys' Home, was the general secretary of the southern branch of the association. His school won the Smithers' Shield for shooting in 1911.

By 1913 there was some form of organised sport in all schools but their methods and arrangements varied widely. The 1913 Committee criticised the schools for a lack of planned progressive training and reported that more control was needed by the Home Office. The Committee continued that too much attention was being shown to gym and displays and not enough to the general physical development of the children, especially weakly boys and that the activities needed to be graded as to the degree of difficulty and the fitness of the child. They recommended the Swedish system of exercises that was being used by the Board of Education in ordinary schools. They also recommended summer camps and seaside or country holidays. Many schools did send their children on holiday and this privilege could be used to encourage and reward good behaviour and discourage and punish bad behaviour. The Newcastle Industrial School had a holiday home at Whitley Bay to which pupils went a few at a time. The Boys' Farm Home used to send children on holiday to St

Lawrence in Kent, where they used the 'iron house' belonging to Lady Rose Weigall. The Boys' Home sent their boys to Dover where they stayed at Kesketh House.

Mary Barnett confirmed in 1913 that the majority of managers fully realised the importance of physical training and that every school had a visiting or resident drill and gymnastic instructor and there was some form of drill every day. She believed that in the past physical training had been inadequate and unscientific but that the schools of 1913 had made great progress and many of them had their own gymnasium.

SPIRITUAL WELFARE

Hurt referred in his article mentioned earlier, to what he considered to be 'a surprising lack of concern over the children's religious education'. He attributed this 'lack of concern' mainly to the government and the established church and wrote that in 1854 'it had been enough for Lord Palmerston to warn the House of Commons that any attempt to provide access by right for ministers of all faiths, would kill the bill - for that clause to be dropped'.³⁹ Hurt seems to have seen an apparent lack of inter-denominational conflict, as illustrating the 'little regard' felt for these children.⁴⁰

There was a desire to stand back from controversial denominational issues, which was reflected in the views of those who attended the 1853 Birmingham Conference. They agreed that the imposition of 'State religion...would have been fatal to voluntary action'.⁴¹ Many of the campaigners for industrial schools came from religious backgrounds other than the Church of England, which might account for this. Mary Carpenter was herself the daughter of a Unitarian Minister. The difficulties of the religious question, which were to delay the introduction of universal elementary education, were largely avoided in the reformatory and industrial schools movement.

An 'almost total absence' of discussion of religious instruction in the parliamentary debates was also noted by Barbara Weinberger, in 1980. She spoke at a conference on the topic of the relationship between industrial and reformatory schools and the elementary school system and concluded that 'there could hardly be a more striking manifestation that the children of the perishing and dangerous classes were beyond the pale than the silence which surrounded the question of their religious education'. Unlike Hurt, however, Weinberger recognised that compared to reformatory school children, those in industrial schools were given more leeway 'to exercise a religious choice of school' but she added that this right had to be 'positively demanded' by the parent or guardian.⁴²

Hurt is correct that the question of access to denominational instruction was dropped from the 1854 Reformatory Schools Act but, as Weinberger acknowledges, there was some degree of acknowledgement of denominational concerns included in

the 1857 Industrial Schools Act. Under Section VI of that act, the school to which a child was sent, had to be one of his or her parent's religious persuasion, provided one existed within that or the adjoining county, whose managers were prepared to accept the child. Section IX allowed for the transfer of a child to another school chosen by the parents or guardians and agreed to by the school, if they objected to the one to which their child had been sent. The local justice could make an order without costs being charged if the grounds for transfer were religious. Section X ensured that a register was kept at every school, showing each child's religious denomination and that access for instruction and religious assistance was provided.

This demonstrates the Government's acceptance of the need for children to be sent to schools where they could receive religious education of their own denomination but, at the same time, its lack of a will to intervene further. Having established that right to denominational instruction, there was not the same wrangle between the churches and the state to control industrial schools as there was with elementary schools, and the Government was content to allow private enterprise from all denominational backgrounds to set up and run industrial schools.

Whilst these schools were predominantly run along the lines of one particular denomination, the managers of some schools took steps to ensure that their schools were not tied to any particular persuasion. This was chiefly true for schools run by county magistrates or by local boards. In 1877, when applying to the Essex Quarter Session for a grant of £10,000 for new buildings for the Essex Industrial School, W.M. Tufnell explained the attitudes to religious instruction of many people involved in the industrial school movement: 'the most strenuous advocate of secular education in elementary schools would not wish to see that principle carried out in industrial schools, which the boys had to make their home for several years.' He went on to explain that the Essex Industrial School taught in a thoroughly non-denominational way because the children it served came from a range of religious backgrounds and if the schools were limited to one denomination more schools would be needed. By being multi-denominational there was the additional benefit that it did not limit the range of people to whom the school could turn for support.

The boys were taught the 'fear of God' and 'instructed in the Holy Scriptures'.⁴³ The schoolmaster, S. Collins, had obviously put a lot of thought into the form of religious education that he should provide and set down a programme of instruction which included reading from both the Old and New Testaments as well as moral instruction drawn from the readings and doctrinal points relating to the resurrection, atonement and redemption. When it came to points of ritual he felt this was best left to later in their lives.⁴⁴

The Macclesfield Ragged and Industrial School also provided for a range of denominations and their annual report for 1867 included their own 'Rules and Regulations', three of which related to religious instruction:

4. The Bible shall form the basis of all religious instruction given in these Schools; and whilst the Children shall be instructed in the fundamental principles of Religion in which all Protestants agree, all sectarian theology shall be carefully avoided.

12. The Master shall devote a portion of each day to the religious instruction of the Children, avoiding sectarian theology. The Master and Matron shall attend with the Children the usual services at the Church or Chapel selected by the Committee, at least once on each Sunday.

15. The Master shall open the School every morning, and close it every evening, with singing a hymn, and prayer.⁴⁵

Whilst the Home Office inspector did not examine the religious education of schools this does not mean this aspect of the schools' work remained unsupervised. The Reformatory and Refuge Union had been founded to 'promote religious, intellectual and industrial training...by educating them [the children] in the fear of God and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures'. The Union nominated a representative to inspect schools once a year on its behalf, and he would naturally include that aspect of care. In 1888 the Refuge Union inspector reported 'approvingly' 'on the system of management, and of the boys' 'attainments and knowledge, both secular and religious' at the Boys' Farm Home.⁴⁶ Schools were also examined by representatives of their own denominations. The boys who attended the Boys' Farm Home took an annual scripture examination and the examiner, the Revd A. Buckland, was the Diocesan Inspector of St Albans. In 1905 he reported:

The subjects offered for examination comprised Joshua, I. Samuel, St Luke's Gospel, and the Church Catechism. The boys showed much interest and were anxious to answer, and although varying considerably both in knowledge and ability, yet certainly acquitted themselves with credit, and amply testified to earnest teaching.⁴⁷

The majority of the founders of industrial schools were religiously motivated. This was particularly true in the case of schools founded by individuals and naturally enough by those founded by religious organisations. It was a little less so when the schools were founded by larger independent bodies such as school boards and education authorities and magistrates. However the LSB, in its final report, identified the object of the industrial schools as one to prepare the child for its later life. This preparation should consist 'firstly in the moral and Christian training' then 'education

in the school room, and in such useful industries as are...compatible with the conditions and circumstances of the various schools'.⁴⁸

As Margaret May wrote in 1973, the reformatory school movement was 'a product of religious concern and humanitarianism'.⁴⁹ Mary Carpenter, as the daughter of a Unitarian minister, was especially motivated by her religious convictions. In 1859 she wrote of her new venture, the Park Row Industrial School: 'during the last week I have commenced my last work, and entered a new house, which I trust will be holy to the Lord and save some of his children'.⁵⁰ Many schools managers saw their work as guided by God. The committee of the Macclesfield Ragged and Industrial Schools acknowledged in their 1867 Annual Report 'with heartfelt gratitude, the goodness of God, without whose blessing all their labour had been in vain, and the results attained impossible'.⁵¹

Hurt commented that the government reports of 1884, 1896 and 1913 paid 'scant regard to the question of religious training'.⁵² He interpreted this as a sign of the 'lack of concern' referred to earlier and the fact that the government reports did not include religious education in detail automatically signified an indifference on the part of the established church. Hurt wrote that Redhill was an exception to the 'general indifference' of the established church but this is not necessarily the case. This school was unusual in that the superintendent or warden was always a clergyman, but the amount of religious training was not dissimilar to that of a good number of schools.

Although Church of England religious communities did not establish and run their own schools, as occurred with the Roman Catholic communities, individual members were motivated to establish schools. In addition, the Church of England Waifs' and Strays' Society established a small number of schools and took over the running of several schools that had already been established, while many of the leading members of the Church of England were actively involved in the industrial school movement. One of the aims of the managers' association, the Reformatory and Refuge Union, was to promote religious education and to 'elevate and reclaim the neglected and criminal class, by educating them in the fear of God and the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures'.⁵³ The Union was the main organ of the reformatory movement and its vice presidents included the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Carlisle and Ripon and the Archbishop of Dublin.

There was a very strong element of church involvement in the local management of schools. Bishops and parish clergymen became involved in schools and diocesan inspectors visited and reported on them. The Bishop of London was the president of the London Boys' Home and the Bishop of St Albans the president of the Boys' Farm Home. The president of the Macclesfield Ragged and Industrial Schools

was the Rural Dean, the Revd John Thornycroft. Leading churchmen also assisted in fund-raising. On 5 June 1864 the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a sermon at Belgrave Chapel, when a collection was made in aid of the Reformatory and Refuge Union. The majority of the Roman Catholic schools were staffed and run by religious communities such as the Sisters of Charity and the Christian Brothers, with varying degrees of success. The Jewish industrial school, Hayes was established and run by the Jewish community.

Schools were encouraged to produce rules for their management and these generally included the topic of religion. In 1885 the Reformatory and Refuge Union included in their *Journal* a list of restrictions and obligations which were considered appropriate for certified industrial schools. Item 5 covered the topic of religious exercises and worship as follows:

Each day shall be begun and ended with simple family worship, to be prescribed by the rules. On Sunday the children shall attend public worship, at some convenient church or chapel. In the case of any child being admitted who is specified in the Order of Detention as of some other religious persuasion than the Church of England, a Minister of such religious persuasion shall be allowed to visit such child, and the child shall not be required to learn the Catechism of the Church of England. (This condition is modified according to the religious denomination of the school.)⁵⁴

The Government started to use the system of model rules to make recommendations on the form that religious training should take. Although it appears to have been expected that there would be some religious observance, their main concern seems to have been that there should be no proselytising. In 1893 rule number 4 of a paper entitled *General Rules for the management and discipline of Certified Industrial Schools under Statute 29 and 30 Vic cap 118* read as follows:

Religious Exercises and Worship.

Each day shall be begun and ended with simple family worship, consisting of Prayer and Praise to God, and the Reading of Scripture.

The Religious Instruction shall be governed by the following Rule:

The ordinary Religious Instruction and Observances shall consist of Prayers and Hymns, and in Explanations and Instructions from the Bible, no attempt shall be made to attach Children to, or to detach them from, any particular Denomination.

No Child should be required to attend any Religious Instruction or Observance, or should be taught the Catechism or Tenets of any Religion to which his Parents or Guardians object, or other than that to which he is stated in the Order of Detention to belong. With regard to Children who

are specified in the Order of Detention as belonging to any particular Religious Persuasion the Managers shall, so far as practicable, make arrangements that such Children shall, during the times set apart for Religious Instruction, attend Religious Instruction or Observances conducted by Ministers of such Persuasions, or by such responsible Teachers of the School or other Persons as are delegated by such Ministers with the approval of the Managers.

While any Religious Instruction or Observance is going on none of the Scholars or Teachers shall be employed in any other manner in the same Room.

On Sunday the Inmates shall, if possible, attend Public Worship at some convenient Church or Chapel, provided that no Boy or Girl shall be taken to any Church or Chapel to which his Parents or Guardians object on the ground that its Religious Services are not in accordance with the Religious Persuasion of the Child, or other than that to which he is stated in the Order of Detention to belong.⁵⁵

The 1923 Model Rules covered religious instruction in paragraph 19 and they varied to only a small degree from the 1893 rules. This time the 'principles of religion and morality' had to be 'suited to the capacity of the boys' and the person who was to instruct boys of other denominations ideally was to be minister or, if this was not possible, a responsible teacher as before.⁵⁶

There may have been earlier guidelines issued prior to 1893 by the Government. With a set of rules issued by the Boys' Farm Home, dated 17 May 1887, were some undated printed standard rules, which appear to have come from an outside body, probably the Government or possibly the Refuge Union. Rule no. 8 covered Religious exercises and worship. Once again the main concern seems to have been to ensure there was no proselytising.

The day shall be begun and ended with simple family worship, consisting of Prayer and the Reading of a Scripture. On Sunday, the Children shall attend Public Worship, at some convenient Church or Chapel. In case of any Child being admitted who is specified in the order of Detention as of some other religious persuasion than the Church of England, a Minister of such religious persuasion shall be allowed to visit such Child, and the child shall not be required to learn the Catechism of the Church of England Under Instruction no. 7 the Religious Instruction shall be from Holy Scripture, shall comprise the Doctrines and Precepts of Christianity, and shall be given daily.⁵⁷

Religion played an important part in the Victorian way of life and this seems to have been reflected in the industrial school movement. In practice all schools provided religious instruction, whether they were Anglican, Nonconformist, Roman Catholic or Jewish. Some schools restricted the instruction to their own

denomination whilst others, predominantly the magistrates' schools and board schools, kept their teaching non-denominational, but invariably Roman Catholic children were taken away by the local priests and sent to Roman Catholic schools.

The Leeds Industrial School at Shadwell was initially run by local people as the Leeds Ragged and Industrial School, but in 1877 it was taken over by the Leeds School Board. It took boys of all denominations including Roman Catholics and steps were taken to ensure that the children's religious persuasion was taken into account. Each Sunday morning the RC boys would march down to the Roman Catholic Rosary Church. This process was repeated in order to attend confession and the school's menu was adjusted to conform to the requirements of the Roman Catholics on Fridays and feast days. Both priests and missionaries visited the school to take services. Whether all these additional measures were causing friction is not clear but there does seem to be a note of tension in the Shadwell journal of 1892 when, following a comment that it had been too wet for the Roman Catholic boys to march down to Leeds one Sunday, a subsequent entry stated 'instructions received for the RC boys to be sent to church in future in time to be at the Rosary Church at 8.30 a.m. This necessitates leaving here at 7.20 a.m. and altering the Sunday morning routine.'⁵⁸

When the Industrial Schools bill was being debated in Parliament in 1862, it was apparent that the potential impact of the religious instruction in the form of the Church of England caused concern to the Roman Catholic member for Dundalk, Mr Bowyer. He was worried that the bill would have a proselytising effect when parents were not available to select a school of their own persuasion. Mr Bowyer had complained that priests had no power under the bill. Charles Adderley denied this and said:

Practically they have, as he knew from experience of the similar provisions in the last Reformatory Act, which enabled lately a procession of priests in solemn order to take away some children who had been placed in a reformatory with which he was connected, and who belonged to Roman Catholic parents. The Romish priests have more power in relation to these institutions than in any other in this kingdom.⁵⁹

Whatever the government and the established church felt about the religious instruction of industrial school children, what mattered to the children was what actually happened in practice. From an examination of a number of schools it is apparent that daily prayers and some form of religious instruction were part of the routine of every school, as was attendance at either the school's own chapel or at the parish church on Sundays and compliance with religious practices such as diet. Schools invariably appear to have had a chaplain or a local clergyman who assisted in

the religious instruction of the children. In some instances he was a paid member of the staff and undertook more than just religious instruction. This was the case at Feltham, where the chaplain assisted the superintendent in a number of ways, including the supervision and appointment of staff. At the Boys' Farm Home, the master Mr John Bowden appears to have been responsible for religious education and the children attended the nearby parish church. In 1901 the new superintendent and chaplain was the Revd J.K. Wood. He had previously been the chaplain of a local private school and had taken an interest in the Boys' Home.

The Middlesex Act, which provided for the establishment of Feltham, had made provision for the appointment of a Church of England clergyman as chaplain, who was to be responsible for holding services on every Sunday, Christmas Day and Good Friday as well as any other services that the committee of visitors wished. The chaplain had to be licensed by the bishop of the diocese. Initially the post of chaplain was combined with that of superintendent but this does not appear to have worked very well and within three years the clergyman superintendent was replaced, with a naval officer acting as superintendent and a clergyman as chaplain. The latter's duties were very extensive and included much more than merely religious instruction. He was responsible for visiting the sick and for the moral and educational state of both the masters and the boys. He also had to keep a journal recording the boys' progress and the efficiency of the masters. Together with the master he decided the classification of each boy and to which the section he should be sent. Complaints by the masters against boys were to be submitted to the chaplain, who passed them on to the superintendent together with his recommendations for reward or punishment. He had to keep a register of potential schoolmasters and a promotion list as well as one of all the boys with details of their history and education, and was responsible for the schools' books. He also had to supervise the boys' correspondence, run a class for boys about to be discharged, try to find them work and attend to their after care. In addition he supervised the masters, their methods of teaching and treatment of the boys. He had to appoint a substitute when absent but was not allowed to be away at the night for more than twelve hours a week.

As would be expected in a Roman Catholic school, at St Joseph's Industrial School for girls considerable interest was taken in their religious instruction. The school kept a register of those who had been baptised and confirmed and this appears to have meant the majority of the girls. The sisters were responsible for the day to day aspects of religious training, while a chaplain provided a weekly confession and fortnightly instruction, which the sisters complained was not sufficient. They also protested that the sermon given at the Sunday mass, which local parishioners

attended, was not suitable for children. The chaplain held a daily mass and three on Sundays.

At Feltham until 1873, morning and evening prayers were said in the church but thereafter the committee decided that 'too much church would affect the boys adversely' and the daily routine of taking prayers became the duty of the schoolmasters. Attendance at church appears to have been somewhat reluctant, for the chaplain, the Revd Pilkington, had grumbled in 1868 that staff and their families were not attending church.

It was usual for industrial schoolchildren to attend, en masse, a religious service on at least one occasion on Sundays, either in the local parish church or chapel or in their own chapel. Unusually at the North London Industrial School, where children were from different denominations, they were allowed to attend a local church or chapel of their own persuasion and were even encouraged to become involved in their church or chapel life. At some schools members of the local community would come in and act as Sunday school teachers but no normal elementary school lessons were taught. This happened at the Chelmsford school and at the Boys' Farm Home. Trade instruction was not generally carried on but essential domestic duties and the care of the animals on farm schools continued. At some schools children were allowed out for unsupervised walks and some social activities took place.

Hurt quoted the inspector, Colonel Inglis, as reporting that the attendance of children at church was often discouraged on the grounds of dirt, noise and lack of space. It is true that their attendance was not always welcomed but this may be more justified than Hurt acknowledges. The average industrial school was attended by about 100 boys aged from eight to 15. For this number of extra places to be found in parish churches may not have been possible and certainly for schools such as Feltham, with 1,000 pupils, their own chapel was essential. The question of church accommodation was not just a problem for industrial schools, any school with a large number of children faced similar difficulties. During the second half of the nineteenth century public schools also saw a movement away from the boys attending parish churches and provided chapels. Cirencester Agricultural College built its own chapel because local parishioners said they and their servants were taking over the local church. The problem of lack of adequate accommodation in the local parish church was not always solved in the same way. In 1865 in East Barnet the south wall of the parish church was pierced with three arches and an extension added, to provide extra space for children from the Boys' Farm Home. Relations between parish church and school were not always good however. In 1894 in a letter to a fellow manager, Arthur Glaisby, Col. Gillum wrote 'For my part I would prefer that the candidates

should not communicate at all rather than to do so at East Barnet. Your plan in selecting New Barnet is best.'⁶⁰ However this appears to have been untypical and in general school and parish church rubbed along pretty well and the local community provided a number of Sunday school teachers.

Like many other schools Feltham had its own chapel, the foundation stone of which was laid by Prince Albert in April 1859. It was opened in June 1860 by the Bishop of London and some adjacent land was allocated for use as a burial ground. In developing areas where there was no parish church, sometimes the boot was on the other foot and the schools provided church services for the local community. On Sundays 200 residents would join in the services at the Boys' Home, Regent's Park, and in Sheffield, St Joseph's chapel was used by parishioners.

CONCLUSION

It can be seen from the evidence given in this chapter that it was generally accepted that children who were sent to industrial schools were likely to be physically inferior to ordinary children and that both the managers of the schools and the government believed that remedial measures needed to be taken. It is apparent that schools varied, both in their enthusiasm for so doing and in their effectiveness, but that generally the children's health improved.

To monitor the fitness of their children, schools often weighed and measured them. The Boys' Home which was one of the better schools, estimated that the average growth of each of their boys was 2 inches a year, with an increase of over 5lb. in weight and a chest development of 1 1/4 inches. 'Little Dick' who had been found begging in London streets, weighed 39lb. and measured 3ft 6in. when he was admitted at the age of ten and he put on 14lb. in weight in the first two years at the home.⁶¹ Other schools were less effective and in some larger schools the distribution of food was mismanaged and day to day health care was neglected when there was no matron or she was ineffectual. The role of the MO could be crucial in monitoring any problems and much depended on the quality of the man appointed.

As far as the Government was concerned, despite few early attempts to enforce standards, it increasingly took an interest in the improvement of the health of industrial school children but at the same time was concerned that the children should not be seen to be overindulged. This was of such concern that in 1901 the government inspector felt it necessary to have a comparison made between the physique and fitness of the children in Home Office schools and that of the 'honest labourer's child', to establish if the former were being raised above the level of ordinary children, but this was found to be groundless.⁶²

The 1913 Commissioners reported that they had found the health of the inmates of reformatory and industrial schools was generally good and that the

physical condition of the children admitted invariably improved from the time they entered the school. They noted that children of an inferior physique tended to have been those who had only recently been admitted. On the whole schools do seem to have been considered by the various commissioners to have been successful in their aim of providing adequate meals and in improving the health of their inmates, but the commissioners had their reservations about some aspects of medical care and they identified a lack of medical attention to the physical needs of girls and young women.

A further measure of the schools' success may be drawn from the fact that a number of those leaving the schools joined the services and do not appear to have had any difficulty in so doing. No evidence has been found of any children being rejected by the services on health grounds. In 1891 of the 3,183 boys who left industrial schools 99 boys enlisted in the Army and 450 went to sea.⁶³ This was at a time when many ordinary young men were being turned down in large numbers for service in the forces, due to their poor physical state. In Manchester in 1899 out of 11,000 volunteers for enlistment, 8,000 were rejected outright and only 1,200 were accepted as fit in all respects.⁶⁴

The quality of the religious care is more difficult to assess, although if the results of the scripture examinations undertaken by the Essex school in the 1910s and 1920s are typical, the teaching of scripture was fairly sound. The Reformatory & Refuge Union *Journal* of May 1897 included lists of names of a large number of children who had entered the examinations set by the Children's Aid Society, with their marks. Of the 93 boys who took the examination, 88 passed with over 50 per cent of the marks and 59 of the 88 passed with honours, that is with 75 per cent. In the Junior Section, 13 of the 15 children who entered the examination passed and three of these did so with honours.⁶⁵ Religious instruction often led to baptism and confirmation. At Feltham the register of baptisms from 1873-1909 gives details of hundreds of baptisms and in 1883 90 of the lads, with ten of the officers' sons and daughters, were confirmed by the Bishop at a service which formed part of an open day.⁶⁶ It can be seen, therefore, that far from a lack of concern and interest on the part of the Government and the established church, religion and religious education played an role in all industrial schools. It was less of a lack of interest by Government and more a lack of a desire to control religious education, the form and degree of which were largely left to the individual management committees or the religious bodies who ran the school. Religion was part of the ethos of the schools and in the main the motivating force behind the establishment of the schools.

Notes

- ¹The Industrial Schools Act (1857)- Vic 20 & 21 Cap XLVIII
- ²Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels* (Oxford 1981) pp. 214, 215
- ³J.S. Hurt, 'Reformatory and industrial schools before 1933' *History of Education* 1984 vol. 13 no. 1 p. 51
- ⁴*The Story of the Boys' Home* (London 1894) p. 15
- ⁵*Park Row Certified Industrial School* (Bristol 1875) p. 46
- ⁶*The Report of the Late School Board of London with regard to Industrial Schools* (London 1904) Section XI p. 18
- ⁷The Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 XXXIX (6838) p. 24
- ⁸C. Drage, *Two Gun Cohen* (London 1954) p. 23
- ⁹*Ibid.* p. 52
- ¹⁰Mary Carpenter, 'Suggestions from Experience on the Management of Reformatories and Certified Industrial Schools' *Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal* no. 17, Apr 1864 p. 49
- ¹¹See Appendix H & I
- ¹²Susan Stewart, *The Central London District Schools 1856-1933* (London 1990)
- ¹³Charles Dickens, 'Pet Prisoners' *Household Words* 27 Apr 1850 quoted by Una Pope-Hennessy in *Charles Dickens* (Edinburgh 1947) pp. 306, 307
- ¹⁴See Appendix J
- ¹⁵Report of the Certified Industrial Schools Committee of the Leeds School Board on the communication from the Home Secretary as to the result of the official enquiry into the management of the Shibden Industrial School for Roman Catholic boys, held January 24th and 25th, 1884 p. 56
- ¹⁶*Ibid.* pp. 62, 63
- ¹⁷See Appendix K
- ¹⁸Samuel Shaw, *Guttersnipe* (London 1946) p. 83
- ¹⁹Mary Carpenter 'Suggestions from Experience on the Management of Reformatories and Certified Industrial Schools' *Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal* no 17, April 1864 p. 51
- ²⁰Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 XXXIX (6838) p. 29
- ²¹D.H. Thomas, 'Four Industrial Schools in the North-East of England' *Durham County Local History Society Bulletin* 26 May 1981 p. 50
- ²²Report of the LCC inspector on his visit to St Joseph's, Sheffield on 29 Nov 1923
- ²³Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels* (Oxford 1981) p. 218
- ²⁴Mary Carpenter, 'Suggestions from Experience on the Management of Reformatories and Certified Industrial Schools' *Reformatory and Refuge Union*

Journal no.17, April 1864 p. 49

²⁵Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1901) p. 21

²⁶Mary Carpenter, 'Suggestions from Experience on the Management of Reformatories and Certified Industrial Schools' *Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal* no. 17, April 1864 p. 50

²⁷Report of the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England (The Newcastle Commission) - PP 1861 (2974) XXXI Evidence of Patrick Cumin vol. I Part III p. 386

²⁸*Park Row Certified Industrial School* (Bristol 1875) p. 46

²⁹Dr Wilson Bruce, 'Medical Hints to Managers' *Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal* 1890 p. 111

³⁰Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - Revd W. Morrison - PP 1896 XLV (8204) p. 18

³¹Boys' Farm Home - Annual Reports 1860-1914

³²*Park Row Certified Industrial School* (Bristol 1875) p. 46

³³G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* p. 49

³⁴Boys' Home papers, copy extract (1873)

³⁵Brian Simon & Ian Bradley, *The Victorian Public School* (Dublin 1979) p. 11

³⁶*Ibid.*

³⁷Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 XXXIX (6839) Minutes of Evidence R.H. Glanfield pp. 142-144

³⁸Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 XLV (8204) p. 23

³⁹The Bill for the better Care and Reformation of Youthfull Offenders in England and Wales 19 June 1854

⁴⁰J.S. Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools before 1933' *History of Education* 1984 vol. 13 no.1 p. 51

⁴¹Mary Carpenter letter to Lady Byron of 23 Dec 1853 quoted by J.E. Carpenter in *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter* p. 147

⁴²Barbara Weinberger, 'The Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes: Industrial and Reformatory Schools and the Elementary Education System' *Childhood Youth and Education in the late Nineteenth Century* (Leicester 1981) p.69

⁴³*Chelmsford Chronicle* (5 Jan 1872) Report on Quarter Session

⁴⁴See Appendix L

⁴⁵Macclesfield Industrial School - Annual Report (1867) pp. 3, 4

⁴⁶Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1888) p. 9

⁴⁷Boys' Farm Home - Annual Report (1905) pp. 15, 16

⁴⁸The Report of the Late School Board of London with regard to Industrial Schools

(1904) Section X.1 p. 13

⁴⁹Margaret May, 'Innocence and Experience' *Victorian Studies* (Sept 1973) XVII no.1

⁵⁰Mary Carpenter, Diary (16 April 1859) quoted by J.E. Carpenter in *The Life and Work of Mary Carpenter* p. 203

⁵¹Macclesfield Industrial School - Annual Report p. 6

⁵²J.S. Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools before 1933' *History of Education* (1984) vol. 13 no. 1 p. 51

⁵³Reformatory & Refuge Union - 16th Annual Report p. 6

⁵⁴*Reformatory & Refuge Union Journal* vol. IX 1885

⁵⁵Recommended Rules for the Management of Industrial Schools (1893)

⁵⁶Rules for the Management of Industrial Schools (1923)

⁵⁷Printed unprovenanced rules

⁵⁸Leeds Certified Industrial School, Shadwell - Journal October 1894 (LC/SS 3/1)

⁵⁹Hansard 4.3.1857 p. 1862

⁶⁰W.J. Gillum letter to Arthur Glaisby (1894) Boys' Farm Home Papers

⁶¹*The Story of the Boys' Home* (1890) p. 15

⁶²45th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1902 (1301) XLVIII pt ii p. 56

⁶³35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1892 (6733) XLIII pp. 32, 33

⁶⁴Peter McIntosh, *Physical Education in England since 1800* (London 1968)

⁶⁵*Reformatory & Refuge Union Journal* May 1897 pp. 87, 88, 89

⁶⁶G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c 1979) p. 15

CHAPTER VIII

DISCIPLINE

In his book *Ethics and Education* R.S. Peters describes discipline as 'a general notion...connected to conforming to rules' and that it 'conveys the notion of submission to rules or some kind of order'.¹ *Chambers' Dictionary* gives a broader definition, that of 'training in an orderly mode of life', 'order kept by means of control' as well as 'penance'.² This chapter examines these three aspects of discipline as they were practised in industrial schools. That is to say, how industrial schools attempted to teach the children self-control, the means that the schools used to ensure their smooth running and the forms of rewards and punishment that were applied.

Children of the 'perishing and dangerous classes' were sent to industrial schools so that they could be transformed into socially acceptable adults. The discipline imposed in both residential and day industrial schools was not intended to be a punishment for past misdemeanours and the children were deemed to start with a clean record sheet. The schools' regimes were planned to provide much more than just mere education and training. Their routine was intended to incorporate socialisation and reformative care. Methods of punishing and rewarding children played an important part in the scheme of their reformation and children had to experience a form of control and discipline to enable the schools to be run efficiently and effectively. It was the balance between the emphasis on control for control's sake and for the sake of the children themselves, that meant the difference between a good and a bad industrial school.

In contrast, reformatory schools' discipline included an element of initial punishment, without which some considered reformation could not begin, and that of truant schools was designed to act as a deterrent. Since the ethos behind truant and reformatory schools was different from residential and day industrial schools, the discipline in these schools should not be assumed to be comparable. To be accurate any evaluation of industrial schools needs to examine residential industrial schools separately from truant and reformatory schools and should also take into account the prevailing attitudes of what was considered to be acceptable and appropriate.

Modern historians of education frequently perceive industrial schools as harsh institutions, where discipline and control played a major role in the children's daily lives. Stephen Humphries described the level of discipline exerted as a form of social control and that the group of schools in which he included industrial schools were 'institutions of class control, designed to inculcate discipline and obedience' with a 'regimented routine' 'enforced by recourse to harsh disciplinary methods and...brutal punishment'.³ J.S. Hurt depicted industrial schools as ones with a 'disciplined and oppressive routine of hard work and severe punishment'.⁴

The Victorian perception of people in authority and their attitude towards the disciplining of children was very different to that held today and altered during the period that the schools existed. This was a time when physical punishment was part of both school life and home life and when flagellation and the mortification of the flesh were practised by religious pietists. Cardinal Newman and William Gladstone both scourged themselves and Lord Melbourne was an obsessive flagellant. In the middle of the nineteenth century corporal punishment continued to be seen as an important tool in teaching children, and teachers were considered to be justified in its reasonable use.

In public schools the previously unrestrained use of corporal punishment by prefects, monitors and staff was coming under criticism. In 1860, when Thomas Hopley, a schoolmaster of a private Eastbourne school was accused of using excessive force, having beaten a pupil to death, the judge recognised that it was lawful for a parent or schoolmaster to influence 'moderate and reasonable corporal punishment to correct what is evil in the child'.⁵ Nevertheless Hopley was imprisoned for four years.

The aim of this chapter is to determine how discipline was used in industrial schools and whether it changed over a period of time. It does this first by identifying the Government's view as to the form of discipline and control that should be imposed and how it influenced the running of the schools, through studying the reports by government commissioners and inspectors. It then goes on to investigate how the founders and managers felt that control should be exerted, through the examination of the Reformatory and Refuge Union *Journal* and schools' own records. What actually happened in practice is established through examining the records of as wide a range of schools as is possible. The schools researched were all the residential industrial schools covered by the early legislation and include at least one from each of the managerial groups described in Chapter III. There is some overlapping of material between this chapter and the previous one since some activities, which were provided on health grounds, also served as rewards and incentives and their removal could form a punishment.

GOVERNMENT ATTITUDES

Since industrial schools were not intended to be penal institutions, the children committed to them did not have to undergo the initial period of imprisonment that reformatory school children continued to experience until the last decade of the nineteenth century. Sydney Turner, the first chief inspector, deferred adopting a general code of rules or byelaws until the practical experience of running the schools had been gained, and the early legislation did not make any statutory provision for the management of children in the schools. Establishing a regime furnishing reformation

and control, was left, therefore, very much in the hands of the founders and managers. Turner's attitude towards discipline and control was reflected in his fifth report, when he described committal to an industrial school as intended to benefit the child not punish it, by 'simply enforcing that amount of moral restraint and general instruction which are in every way as essential to its own well-being in after-life as they are to the safety of the community he will form part of'.⁶ When assessing whether schools merited certification, Turner expected them to perform satisfactorily in three main ways. These were first in regard to the food that was provided, secondly as to the schools' timetables and thirdly the system of punishment. He required schools to provide what he describes as a 'proper amount of moral and industrial instruction' and that the children should be 'regulated by a strict but kindly discipline'.⁷

In 1866 the Government introduced some general rules in Section 29 of the 1866 Act, which could be added to by the managers of individual schools. The general rules established that all faults and punishments were to be recorded in a punishment book and that a system of rewards and encouragements should be used in addition to punishment. Corporal punishment was only to be inflicted by the superintendent or in his presence and the only other member of staff who was to inflict such punishment was the schoolmaster. In addition the inspector recommended that an overnight cooling off period should be allowed to safeguard against undue punishment, in haste, passion, or mistake.⁸

However when the inspector reported on his visits to individual schools his early reports did not specifically address these aspects of control, and references to discipline and control in his main reports are general and intermittent. By 1891, however, the inspector's reports on individual schools had become a little more detailed and incorporated sub-headings which included conduct.

Public concern over the possible mismanagement of schools had been aroused in 1881, following a death of a child at St Paul's Industrial School, and it was felt necessary for the Government to become more proactive. St Paul's Industrial School was a private church school owned by the chairman of the LSB Industrial Schools Committee, Thomas Scrutton. Elizabeth Surr, a fellow member of that committee, opposed the establishment of the LSB's truant school, Upton House, because of concerns over the boys' welfare and continued to raise issues at every opportunity. She exposed mistreatment of boys in both Upton House and St Paul's Industrial School. The subsequent inquiry found a lack of evidence but Scrutton resigned initially as chairman, and later from the committee, and the school was closed by the Home Secretary.

In November 1881 the inspector, Col. Inglis, issued a circular drawing the managers' attention to the necessity of keeping strict records of all offences and

punishments, and displaying a copy of the entries in the schoolroom each month and only removing it after the inspector's annual visit. In 1882 a commission was appointed to inquire into the operation, management and control of all the Home Office schools. Public concern over mistreatment was not the only reason for the establishment of the commission. Other aims included the examination of the question of cost, the impact of the introduction of the 1870 Education Act, as well as a proposal that the schools should be transferred to the control of the Education Department, in addition to other reforms recommended by inspectors.

The 1884 Report included a section on discipline and punishment, which extended to just over a page in length. The commissioners recorded that they had 'made much inquiry at the institutions we have visited, and from various witnesses, into the modes of enforcing discipline'.⁹ They acknowledged that occasionally the extent to which punishment had been inflicted had been concealed, but concluded that such cases were rare and exceptional and that on the whole discipline was humanely enforced and punishments faithfully recorded. The commissioners recommended that the schoolteacher should only be allowed to punish children for offences committed in school hours.

A further assessment of the discipline and control exercised in industrial schools was included in the 1896 Report. On this occasion corporal punishment and discipline were seen to merit two separate paragraphs in the report and the use of cells, systems of marks and privileges were also covered in further detail.¹⁰ This report once again had followed another scandal, on this occasion that of St John's RC Industrial School at Walthamstow. In January 1894 a fight had broken out, during which a boy died. Charges were made of cruelty and excessive severity of punishment but these were found not to have been substantiated. However a subsequent inquiry did show up irregularities regarding the keeping of punishment records and the use of unauthorised and unusual punishments. This was a similar conclusion to that of an inquiry held in 1884 on the mis-management of the Shibden RC Industrial School, Leeds.¹¹ The 1896 Commissioners reported that they considered that it was the mark of inferior management when much punishment was imposed. They added that whilst the model rules forbade the corporal punishment of girls there were some extreme circumstances in which it could be justified. However its use needed to be notified to the Secretary of State within 24 hours, with a full statement of the circumstances.

By 1913 greater interest was being expressed in the discipline in industrial schools, which is borne out by the greater detail in the coverage of the topic in the 1913 Departmental Committee Report. Chapter XI covered discipline in general and included sub-headings on corporal punishment, cells, deprivation of food, mark

systems and liberty. The chapter covered three and a half pages. The committee concluded that the amount of corporal punishment was decreasing and reiterated the view of the 1896 commissioners, that its use for minor offences was a sign of poor management. 'For the general maintenance of authority the superintendent must rely on his moral influence and not on his cane'.¹²

FOUNDERS/MANAGERS

The managers' attitudes towards control and discipline could vary according to their own particular experiences and beliefs. Many had themselves encountered the discipline of the public school and attempted to adapt aspects of its system to industrial schools. Schools that had strong links with the services, particularly the Navy, tended to include some of the aspects of service life in their timetable. The use of whistles to give instructions was especially prevalent in ship schools or in schools where ex-naval officers were on the staff.

When magistrates formed the board of managers there seems to have been a particularly rigid and structured regime which applied equally to staff as to the children. Feltham had a list of fines for a range of 16 offences that could be committed by officers. They included a fine of 2/6d. for striking a boy, which increased to 5/- for a second offence within a month and for a third offence the officer was reported to the Committee of Visitors. If late on duty he was fined 6d. for up to five minutes, thereafter a further 6d. for each five minutes and once the sum reached 2/6 he was reported to the Committee of Visitors.¹³

Voluntary managers and the religious sisters appear to have been more likely to understand the children's point of view, although they were still typical of their time in believing that 'sparing the rod spoiled the child' and that punishment was an essential part of bringing up children. On the whole the Reformatory and Refuge Union, the mouthpiece of managers and staff, reflected an acceptance that whilst control and discipline were necessary for the smooth running of the schools, they should be used in moderation and that better results could be gained by providing children with positive incentives towards good behaviour.

Following correspondence in *The Times* in 1885, G.W. Bell, one of the founders of the London Boys' Home, wrote about his own experience of discipline as a child and the levels of discipline he tried to encourage in his industrial school, the London Boys' Home:

The amount of corporal punishment in the schools of my youth was both wicked and foolish but I believe that its abolition would have been equally unwise. I entirely agree with the Times correspondents in one point of view that this mode of punishment is extremely disagreeable and repulsive to the teacher or parent who may be obliged and may feel it is or her duty to inflict it...In my own management of schools I have endeavoured to impress upon my

subordinate teachers of both sexes, the great principle that their own skill is proved by the small amount of punishment inflicted.¹⁴

Mary Carpenter was idealistic in the way she felt destitute and delinquent children should be treated. Whilst she was nearby and able to visit her schools, they ran smoothly with few disciplinary problems. However her staff were unable to exert the same amount of control that she was able to do by her mere presence and whenever she was away problems occurred. At the Kingswood Reformatory in March 1853 there was a riot and a number of children absconded. As a result a management committee was formed to introduce more systematic controls.

IN PRACTICE

Whilst it appears that it was the intention of both the managers and the Government that schools should be run strictly but without undue punishment and in the best interests of the children, the make-up of the schools meant that the system could lend itself to abuse. Too much reliance was put on the integrity of the staff both in keeping accurate records and not exceeding the recommendations of the Home Office. Inspection could be superficial, due to the inadequate amount of time available and limited to systems of management, rather than a close examination of the children themselves. On the whole the inspectors saw what they were intended to see and the modern concept of listening to the children was not one generally adopted by the Victorian school inspectors.

There were some exceptions, however, and inspectors appear to have been held in some awe. Parson Smith, who ran a school at Ipswich, was outraged when in 1919, two inspectors had the temerity to question the children themselves. A Mrs Harrison and a Miss Russell had visited his school and discovered to their dismay that the children had been dressed and fed specially for the occasion. Sister Margaret Mary wrote, 'I think the poor Parson was awfully simple to think anyone would oppose those inspectors - even though they called black - white'.¹⁵

A major fault with the system of inspection and supervision of the schools was that there was no system for obtaining redress, either on the part of the children or the parents. The schools were often isolated from the local community as well as the children's parents, who, if they existed, were not usually in a position to complain even when they were aware of any problems. The power of the Home Office to control the day to day discipline in individual industrial schools was limited. It was the staff and the managers who had the greatest impact and as far as the children were concerned what mattered to them was what actually happened in practice in their own individual schools. When managers did not exist or were ineffectual the children were vulnerable.

The timetables of all schools manifest an overwhelming desire to keep the children active at all times, and prevent 'the devil finding work for idle hands'. Each day started early, at about 6 a.m. and from that moment on a rigid structure was maintained for the remainder of the day. Industrial schools and reformatory schools both appear to have used a system of rewards and punishment bound up with their daily regime to control the children's behaviour, and this was supported by the use of the older and more responsible children.

MONITORIAL SYSTEM

The wide age range of the children meant that the schools lent themselves to using monitorial systems, with older children taking on duties and responsibilities in return for privileges. Feltham had introduced a system whereby those monitors who proved trustworthy and reliable could gain extra badges and those with six stripes would be made 'pass boys', that is be allowed to go out of the school from time to time. At Park Row the staff tried to foster a family feeling, with older and better behaved boys exercising an influence upon newcomers through being encouraged to help one another, nursing sick boys, and taking charge of the youngest and most helpless children. This meant that newcomers, having been put in the charge of some of the older boys, who were said to have been 'generally proud of the trust, rapidly fell into the routine of the School duties, and speedily become one of the family'.¹⁶

In 1913 Mary Barnett reported that practically every school had some monitorial system by which the elder boys were given certain responsibilities and were allowed to share in the maintenance of discipline. She added that the idea of self-government had been brought forward by the work of the George Junior Republic and that the Hayes Industrial School for Jewish boys had a very similar system and it had been found to work remarkably well.

Silence rules were generally imposed to a greater degree in industrial schools than they were in ordinary schools and, according to the 1896 commissioners, in some cases they were taken further than was needed. The commissioners recommended that mealtimes should not be silent, but that the children should be taught to talk quietly. This practice appears to have varied from school to school. In 1862 at Park Row, children were being punished for attempting to talk at mealtimes. In contrast in 1923 the girls at St Joseph's Industrial School seem to have been particularly fortunate since it was reported they were allowed to talk freely at mealtimes. This may reflect the general softening of attitudes towards discipline that occurred over the period that the schools ran.

INCENTIVES

A range of means were used to encourage and reward good behaviour. Incentives varied from school to school but invariably included the awarding of marks

and privileges, the removal of which could also act as a form of punishment. By 1884 most industrial schools were using some form of marks system which could be very complicated to administer.

At the London Boys' Home good behaviour was encouraged through the use of both marks and monetary payments and their magazine listed the 'Good Conduct' boys and those who had been awarded prizes. Every boy could earn a mark each day for good conduct. After three months' probation he could earn a red star every quarter, which was worn on the arm and entitled the wearer to 'pay'. Four stars would be exchanged for a red stripe. On earning a stripe and a further star a boy became a GCB (a Good Conduct Boy) and on earning two stripes and a star he became a 'Truro' boy, provided he was over 14 years of age. Three red stripes would be exchanged for a silver one. Spending money was paid at the rate of one penny for each star but there was an upper limit of eight pence a month.

In addition, every boy of 14 years of age or over was able to earn either one, two or three trade marks each week, which were to be given by the master of his workshop. For every trade-mark earned, twopence would be added to the boys' bank account to be given to him after he left the Home: one-third after six months, one-third after nine months and one-third at twelve months, provided he kept a 'thoroughly satisfactory character'. Two shillings a month was put into savings from the time of a boy becoming a GCB and four shillings a month from his becoming a 'Truro' boy. This extra money was to be spent on additional clothing or tools after he had left the Home, partly at the end of a month and partly at the end of a year. Those boys who joined Army bands would receive this money in cash in four half-yearly payments. Once again this was provided the boy's 'good character' was retained. This was in addition to the clothes each boy was given on leaving the Home, which were usually to the value of £2.10s. The amount of money that could be accrued could be quite substantial. Between £5 and £10 could be earned.¹⁷

Bad behaviour was discouraged through the use of penalties. If a boy lost four of the 28 marks for a month, half his month's pay was stopped; if eight marks were lost all the months pay was forfeited; if 12 marks were lost, his Sunday outing was stopped. Twenty marks lost meant that no star would be given and if 30 were lost a star already earned would be taken away. The Sunday outing referred to above was the highly valued privilege of visiting their friends once a month, which the boys enjoyed under certain conditions.

At Feltham the staff used a similar marks system as the 'first line of control'. A total of 300 marks earned a good conduct stripe, which meant a farthing extra for every dozen marks gained per week and 2/- on release. It was not unusual for boys to have acquired over a period of three to four years between six and ten good conduct

stripes, which were awarded at the rate of up to 1,000 a year over the whole school. A typical quarterly return showed between 200 and 300 being issued. The ultimate honour was a medal for exceptional number of good conduct stripes. A further incentive was added in 1872 when a Drum Major's staff was presented to the school and Captain Brookes, the superintendent, suggested that boys with exceptional merit records should have their names inscribed on it.

Boys at Feltham could only spend half their money, the remainder had to go into compulsory savings. Monetary awards were also made for long periods of good conduct and for 12 months continuous a good conduct star was awarded, which meant another 2/- was put into the bank for the day of release. With two good conduct stripes boys were eligible for a junior monitor's job and with it 2d a week. Boys with three good conducts stripes were eligible for a senior monitor's position and 4d a week extra.¹⁸ The marks system was useful because as well as rewarding good behaviour it could be used to punish the boys. Forfeiture of stripes meant loss of pay and privileges. The Government favoured the use of marks and most schools had similar systems to those outlined above, including the Boys' Farm Home, the Desford Industrial School, and Shadwell Industrial School, Leeds.

Much of the money that the children earned was put aside for use after they left but some schools felt it was important that children should be taught how to handle money. At Park Row each boy received a small allowance of pocket money, which was given as a reward for work done, and was held by the master. The boy was taught to keep an account of the money. He had to pay for breakages from it but could use the remainder to pay for treats for himself with the master's permission.

At the Boys' Farm Home the inspector reported in 1865 that the system of trusting the boys to deliver milk, etc. to customers. 'both tried and encouraged their honesty'.¹⁹ This would have been because it would involve both handling money and going outside the schools. Similarly, at Park Row, the boys handled the cash sales of firewood. At Feltham, however, tokens made of pewter were used as currency within the school until 1908, after which real coins were employed.

On the whole children were kept within the institutions and their grounds but some controlled external access was permitted by those selling items such as milk and firewood and as an incentive for good behaviour. In 1923 at St Joseph's the older girls were allowed out in unattended groups on Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings. At the Chester Industrial School girls could go into town occasionally and were taken for walks once in three weeks. 'Pass boys' at Feltham were allowed outside the school and the gate porter kept a list of them. These boys had to carry signed passes, wore special belts as identification and carried messages between sunrise and sunset. At Feltham the Good Conduct Badge boys had the dubious

honour of being considered for attendance at funerals! Other incentives for good behaviour took the form of organised outings. At Park Row there were visits to exhibitions, conjuring performances and the circus. In summer trips were made to the country. At Feltham outings included visits to Hampton Court and on at least one occasion 400 boys were taken to Sanger's Circus.

Visits home were not universally encouraged, but some provision was generally made for visits by family and friends. The London Boys' Home had a parents' visiting day once a quarter and a number of parents attended. Some boys were allowed to visit their homes on Sundays if they were 'decent'. Unusually, at the Clifton Industrial School eight days leave was given at Midsummer and Christmas provided the boys' homes were considered suitable and their fares paid. Many schools took their children on annual holiday if they had behaved well during the year. At the Boys' Home boys had to have a clean bill of health and clean punishment sheet. One of their favourite destinations was Kesketh House in Dover. Holidays were a time when children were more open to public view. In 1889, when the second of two parties of boys included the band boys, they marched from the Dover station yard to Kesketh House playing *Come Lasses and Lads*, watched by a crowd of local people. Activities on holiday included wading, fishing, crab-hunting and the gathering of stones and shells. There were visits to the pier and the boys watched the arrival and departure of continental steamers. As well as Dover the school visited other seaside resorts, including Walton. The boys from the Boys' Farm Home also had annual holidays at the seaside, theirs were often held in Brighton. However not all industrial schoolchildren were as fortunate. Kylie Gay does not recall any holidays during the period he spent at the Cumberland Industrial School but the boys did visit the local cinema to which they marched preceded by their band.

The Boys' Farm Home had an unusual way of encouraging boys to look after their clothes. Those boys who did so were rewarded with more frequent new ones, presumably their cast offs would have gone to those less conscientious.

PUNISHMENT

Even though industrial schools were not intended to be retributive in relation to previous offences, the forms of punishment they imposed could contain the three elements of retribution, deterrence and reformation with regard to behaviour whilst the children were within the schools. Punishment in industrial schools took many forms. It could be the removal of privileges and rewards and could range from the postponement of letters or visits, downgrading, restricting diet, and the use of solitary confinement, to the infliction of punishment through the use of a cane or birch. Whilst the Government laid down some general rules concerning its application, on the whole the selection of punishment was very much left to individual schools. The

ultimate punishment for a child found to be uncontrollable in an industrial school was to have the child committed to a reformatory school. It was not possible for the reverse to occur, that is for a child to be transferred from a reformatory school to an industrial school, until after 1908, when the Secretary of State was given the power to do so under Part V of the 1908 Children Act.

According to G.A.T. Lee in his history of Feltham, the punishment inflicted by Richard Croker, the first superintendent and chaplain, on the first 103 boys sent to the school, included two birchings, 20 canings, 114 reductions of diet to bread and water for up to 14 days, 37 confinements in separate cells, 10 deprivation of privileges and 31 admonitions.²⁰ The time scale over which these punishments were administered is not clear from Lee's work, it could have covered the whole of their period of detention. This apparently large number of punishments could indicate early problems in the school and may not reflect later levels, for the managers were not satisfied with the Revd Croker's work and he was forced to resign in 1861. At Feltham a Badge of Shame was used but following the 1882 Inquiry its use was dropped.

Most schools did keep the punishment books required by the Home Office but entries tended to include only the more severe forms of punishment and much unofficial, summary punishment could go unrecorded. For the proper supervision and control of punishment it was important that the contents of these books should be regularly monitored by the managers. At Park Row the master had to show the punishment book to the management committee when anything more than a fine or deprivation of food was inflicted. By way of contrast, the failure of the managers to supervise the punishment at St John's Industrial School was shown up when problems arose there in 1894.

If Feltham was typical, the deprivation of food appears to have been the most frequently used form of punishment. In 1913 the Home Office model rules allowed the substitution of a meal with bread and water. However it was recognised that the diet in many schools was so near the minimum that deprivation of any regular meal could not be justified. There was, however, no objection to allowing a child to be stopped treacle or jam or similar items, in a meal which though insubstantial made it more attractive.

Industrial schools were intended not to reflect the prison system and the use of cells as a form of punishment was therefore deprecated. However some schools did impose solitary confinement, although a distinction was seen between a cell and a room, and it was more acceptable to confine a child in a room. The Government's model rules made a distinction between reformatory and industrial schools as far as the use of cells was concerned. In 1896 the model rules permitted industrial school children to be put in cells for a maximum of three days, whereas the maximum

allowed in reformatories was seven days. Despite the desire of the 1896 commissioners that the use of cells should be discontinued they were still sometimes being used in 1913. The 1913 commissioners advised that solitary confinement, whether in a cell or a room, should never be inflicted as a punishment, but they had no objection to shutting up a child for a time in a room that was light and otherwise suitable, in order that he or she might recover from a fit of temper.

Experience had shown that the use of cells could be hazardous and most industrial schools did not use them. However, Feltham had two punishment cells with high windows near to each schoolroom and when in 1872 a boy was punished by being sent to a dark cell for cruelty to a frog, he committed suicide.

CORPORAL PUNISHMENT

The use of the cane, particularly in the schoolroom, was seen by many people as compatible with the treatment ordinary children received in elementary schools and therefore as acceptable. The 1896 commissioners did recommend that its use be discontinued but this was not generally carried out and in many schools the schoolmaster was permitted to inflict up to four strokes of cane or tawse on the hand, entering the details in the punishment book. However this form of punishment could be abused by over enthusiastic members of staff.

There was concern that physical punishment should not be inflicted on girls but despite this the 1896 commissioners recommended that superintendents of girls' schools should be allowed to inflict such punishment when absolutely necessary. The 1913 commissioners recommended that in boys' schools the use of the cane or birch should be permitted for major offences. The model rules provided for a maximum of 12 strokes in industrial schools and 18 in reformatory schools. The birch was to be administered on bare skin whereas the cane was to be used only over trousers.²¹ Individual schools could decide which offences merited corporal punishment although on the whole the birch appears to have been reserved for absconding and the cane for offences in the schoolroom.

The managers of the London Boys' Home felt that they could not altogether dispense with corporal punishment although they did not inflict caning on the hand which they believed was injurious. In very grave offences they used the birch but tried to keep punishments to a minimum by offering the boys encouragement for good conduct and work and through the personal influence of masters over their scholars.

At Park Row offences such as indecency and calling a boy names were seen to warrant caning, according to the punishment book. Three strokes were given for indecency and two for name calling. Somewhat misguided although a fairly commonly held view at the time, it was felt that four sharp strokes whilst in his shirt at bedtime would frighten a boy out of wetting his bed at night. This was done on

the advice of the medical officer who thought the boy ought to have been able to help himself because he didn't wet during the day!

Some sense of moderation could also be brought in however. In 1862 at Park Row a boy called Foy stole a knife which had been lent to a boy by a master. He only received one stroke because he was a new boy. It was absconding that most frequently merited the punishment of being beaten and every school, however good, suffered from runaways. In mitigation it was often stated that it was during their early period of committal that most boys tended to run away. Descriptions were sent to the *Police Gazette* and frequently children were found, both tired and hungry and brought back to their school for punishment. This usually took place in front of the whole school and was performed by the master or superintendent, in the hope of deterring others from attempting the same offence.

At Feltham during the first year there were 70 attempted escapes but thereafter the number was much smaller. This may have been due to the increased security for whilst at first the school windows did not have bars, after 18 months heavy steel wires were put in the window frames. These drastic measures were exceptional and did not occur in the majority of industrial schools. Even at more liberal Park Row boys still absconded. The boys were almost invariably recaptured and the school reported that a year frequently went by without any attempt at desertion being made; even by newcomers, with whom the school had the most trouble in this respect.

However some schools did use beating for other offences, particularly stealing. Kylie Gay was threatened with the birch at the Cumberland Industrial School, when he and others stole food. It was only the intervention of the medical officer that prevented the punishment being carried out and unfortunately he does not recall the punishment that was substituted. Gay still remembers his horror when he witnessed the beating of another boy but despite this believes today's unruly youngster would benefit from punishment like this.

It was seen as the managers' duty to ensure that corporal punishment was only used when appropriate and that the punishment inflicted was not too severe. The medical officers were responsible for ensuring that children were medically fit when they underwent physical punishment and both the managers and the MO were expected to check the punishment book at least once a month.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the popularity of the use of corporal punishment, and more particularly the birch, declined in ordinary schools and to a slightly lesser extent in industrial schools. Both the 1896 and the 1913 commissioners reported that the amount of corporal punishment was decreasing but the 1913 commissioners still acknowledged that in a few schools the number of

punishments was greater than it should have been. They recommended that alternative methods of punishment should be used for the correction of ordinary faults. The 1896 commissioners recognised that industrial school children were vulnerable because 'they lacked the advantage of home relations, which are the main support of boys in an ordinary residential school.'²² The cases of mistreatment and cruelty that came to light demonstrated to the Home Office that the system could be abused and measures were taken to introduce controls in the model rules that they recommended, particularly with regard to corporal punishment.

In 1913 one of the Home Office's model rules set the maximum number of strokes at 12 in industrial schools. It was recommended that this should be reduced to eight and that this punishment should only be used for major offences on the instructions of the superintendent or the officer acting as superintendent in his absence. Inspectors were expected to examine the birch and cane, where they were used, as well as the punishment book. The commissioners did not want major corporal punishments to be inflicted in the front of other boys, but those who used it were keen to do so as a deterrent to others.

Life at Feltham appears to have been especially rigidly structured, as often seems to have been the case in schools run by local magistrates and where ex-servicemen, especially ex-naval servicemen, formed the staff. The superintendent who served from 1863 to 1891 was an ex-naval officer Captain Brookes. He was followed by a Mr Beuttler who was the superintendent when Sam Saw attended the school in the 1890s and described the discipline as 'tyrannical'. This was despite the fact that when the schoolmasters asked that they be allowed to use the cane, they were refused permission and were told that they ought to be able to exert control without resorting to physical punishment.

How successful schools were in maintaining the disciplined but friendly atmosphere envisaged by the Government, founders and managers can be measured to a degree by the amount of desertion that took place. It should be borne in mind that the children admitted to industrial schools would generally have led a largely uncontrolled and wild life and the impact of the change to the regimented routine of an industrial school would have been very marked, hence the higher proportion of cases amongst newly committed children. Almost all schools appear to have experienced at least some degree of absconding. The number of desertions at Feltham, even taking into account its size, appears to have been higher than in many other schools such as Park Row and the London Boys' Home, but even the very moderate Boys' Farm Home experienced difficulties. In 1865 the inspector reported that he had found some of the boys had given a good deal of trouble by repeated

desertion, but their general conduct had been good, and that few serious faults had occurred.

Frederick Goody, who had been sent to the Boys' Farm Home in about 1918, absconded once but was caught at nearby Potters Bar and given a dozen strokes. The reason he gave for running away was that he had been hit in the chest by 'old Love', the farm bailiff, for 'larking about'. It was because of his repeated truancy from elementary school that he had previously been taken by the police to Holme Court, Isleworth, a truant school. His father had experienced a period in prison because of his son's repeated truancy and it was he who later brought him to the Boys' Farm Home where they promised to 'make a man of him'. Despite the one attempt to abscond, Frederick did settle down at the Boys' Farm Home and said that his time there was on the whole a happy one. He had found Holme Court, which closed in April 1920, with its high walls and little freedom to be a worse school than the farm school. When children did not respond to the short but harsh periods of detention that they experienced in truant schools and became incorrigible truants, they were often sent to residential industrial schools for longer term care.

It was generally the case that when a child absconded attempts were made to deter others from doing the same by making whole school aware of the incident and the almost inevitable recapture and punishment. At the Boys' Farm Home when a boy ran away the others were not allowed to play but had to stand round the edge of the playground or sit in classroom if wet and not talk. At Park Row a small fine was imposed on the whole school when any lad ran away and this was intended to promote a sense of mutual responsibility amongst the boys.

CONCLUSION

It is apparent that industrial schools made use of all the elements of discipline, described in the introduction to this chapter, within their schools. Discipline was used to teach the children to conform to society's accepted codes of conduct, as well as in order to ensure the smooth running of the schools, and a variety of means of rewards and punishment were utilised in the programme of care.

It is also apparent that attitudes varied towards the balance of emphasis to be given to disciplining children for their own sakes and for the sake of the management of the school. Whilst the theories and ideals of the early founders and the Home Office may have lent towards applying discipline for the benefit of the child, the practical considerations of those actually running the schools may have changed the priority for those involved in the daily care of the children. The interpretation of the guidelines and recommendations that were issued by the Home Office could allow a considerable degree of variation from school to school. Despite the fact that both the Government and the managers did not see industrial schools as penal institutions

other bodies did not always view them in the same light. In its final report in 1904 the London School Board wrote 'In the early days the industrial schools were looked upon as semi-penal institutions and the inmates were treated more like prisoners than school children. Corporal punishments were severe and solitary confinement was not unknown.'²³

This reference was probably to the schools that were established prior to 1870 and with which they were therefore not involved. It is not clear who were thought by the board to regard the schools as 'semi-penal institutions'. As has been demonstrated earlier in this chapter neither the Government, nor the founders and managers intended that this should be the case and wanted industrial schools to break new ground and get away from the old penal system. This apparent anomaly could have several causes. This quotation was taken from the LSB's final report which outlined its own achievements and this may play a part in its dismissal of the earlier work of others in the industrial school field. The 1896 Royal Commission reported that 'It is a common complaint that these schools are not understood' and this could equally have applied to the LSB as far as early schools were concerned.²⁴

It is apparent, however, that when the histories of individual schools are written, their regime is likely to be seen in a more favourable light than may have been the case. The reports of inspectors did not always reflect the actual experiences of individual children, which can cast a very different light on particular schools. It was certainly the case that the majority of the individuals who founded and ran industrial schools wanted them to be strictly but fairly run in a family atmosphere. When schools were administered by less directly involved bodies such as magistrates and school boards, there was a danger that the schools' regime could become less open to monitoring and consequently their level of discipline go uncontrolled. The scandals that had taken place at St John's and St Paul's at a time when government inspectors were reporting matters as satisfactory, demonstrates the weakness of the periodic inspection by Home Office inspectors. As far as Shibden was concerned the inspector had identified a problem with the large number of children that the schoolmaster was attempting to teach but his reservations were not stated strongly enough to ring any warning bells or bring about any changes. It was left to the Leeds School Board to identify a problem of irregular and excessive punishment. To truly assess conditions in schools the children themselves had to be consulted but this was not general practice.

Other schools also put on a special 'show' when inspectors visited. Kylie Gay says that at the Cumberland School the meals improved and cloths were put on the tables when the inspectors came. Since some of the inspections were unannounced, however, such measures could not always have been taken. Whilst the

news of an inspector's presence in an area could spread fairly easily within the elementary school system, since industrial schools were, geographically, much more widely dispersed this was not likely to have been so easy within that system.

Industrial schools ran for a period of 80 years, at a time when public attitudes towards punishment were changing outside the industrial school system and more slowly within it. Despite this change corporal punishment continued to feature as a form of punishment in all schools until well after the industrial school system had ceased to exist. Discipline in industrial schools played a much more important role in the lives of the children, who had generally experienced little control prior to their admission and were therefore likely to be unruly and more difficult to manage than ordinary school children. Discipline was not just a feature of the schoolroom but part of their whole life and when abuse did take place the children did not have easy access to intermediaries. The administration of good and fair discipline was therefore much more significant for industrial school children than for ordinary children.

The 1896 commissioners had recognised the special needs of industrial schoolchildren and potential dangers of the system, when they reported that the 'distinction of good schools and bad schools is due to the degree of happiness and liberty that are provided'. They considered that 'excessive discipline, constantly enforced is vexatious and does no good' and that 'in these schools there is no fear of there being too little discipline, considerable risk of there being too much'.²⁵ They reported that two systems co-existed for dealing with children; one of confidence allows liberty, encouraging sense of responsibility; and a second securing obedience by watching and repression. The 1927 Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders found that discipline, in the case of all good schools, was being maintained by giving a much greater measure of freedom and responsibility to the pupils and the new privileges were but rarely abused.

Life in industrial schools was certainly strictly managed and contravention of the rules invariably meant punishment. Good behaviour, however, was encouraged through the use of rewards, and for those children who were prepared to conform life was likely to be far better than it would have been had they remained in the outside world. It was not the intention of the founders, managers or the Government that these schools should be harsh disciplinary places. However the enclosed nature of the system meant that when inadequate supervision took place, and unsympathetic superintendents and teachers were in post, abuses could, and did, occur.

Many of the conclusions drawn today as to the discipline in industrial schools are based on sources covering all types of industrial schools. What is frequently not understood by historians is the significance of the different regime that was likely to be run in the truant schools that were meant to be deterrent in nature, compared with

industrial schools whose aim was to provide care and reform the child over a long period. Many schools did manage to achieve a good balance in the way they managed the discipline of their schools and changed the wild and unruly children that were sent to them into self-disciplined and self-reliant members of society. Other more harsh schools may have alienated some of the children and made them resentful of their treatment, but they nonetheless provided food, education and training, however basic, that the children would not have received had they not been committed.

Kylie Gay, whose experience of life at the Cumberland Industrial School was not a happy one, was said by his daughter to have developed a strong moral code that stood him in good stead during his life and he certainly did not gain this from his mother.

Notes

- ¹R.S. Peters, *Ethics and Education* (London 1978) p. 267
- ²A.M. Macdonald, *Chambers' Compact Dictionary* (Edinburgh 1980)
- ³Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels* (Oxford 1981) pp. 211, 215
- ⁴J.S. Hurt, 'Reformatory and industrial schools before 1933' *History of Education* vol. 13 no. 1 1984 p. 49
- ⁵D.P. Leinster-Mackay 'Some historical reflections on Corporal Punishment' *Journal of Educational Administration and History* vol. XI no. 1 Jan 1977 p. 1
- ⁶5th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1862 (3034) XXVI p. 21
- ⁷Return of all Industrial Schools certified under the Act 24 & 25 Vic c 113 - PP 1862 (248) XLIII
- ⁸Industrial Schools Amendment Act - 1866 29 & 30 Vic Cap CXVIII xxviii para. 39
- ⁹Royal Commission on the Management and Condition generally of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1884 (3876) XLV.I para. 39 p. xxvii
- ¹⁰Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 (8204) XLV para. 25 p. 18 & para. 35 p. 23
- ¹¹Report of the Home Secretary's communication as to the result of the inquiry into the management of the Shibden Industrial School for Roman Catholic Boys (Leeds 1884)
- ¹²Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838) XXXIX Chap. XI p. 27
- ¹³G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c. 1979) p. 9
- ¹⁴*Reformatory & Refuge Union Journal* 1885 IX p. 34
- ¹⁵Letter Sister Margaret Mary Murphy to Ma Soer dated 10 Nov 1919 (Archives Sisters of Charity, Box 11-72-2)
- ¹⁶*Ibid.* p. 44
- ¹⁷*The Story of the Boys' Home* p. 16
- ¹⁸G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c. 1979) pp. 23, 24
- ¹⁹8th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Industrial Schools - PP 1865 (3527) XXV p. 73
- ²⁰G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c. 1979) p.7
- ²¹Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1913 (6838.6839) XXXIX Ch XI p. 27
- ²²Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 (8204) XLV p. 20
- ²³The Final Report of the London School Board (1904) Section X p. 13

²⁴Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1896 (8204) XLV p. 20

²⁵Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP
1896 (8204) XLV p. 27

CHAPTER IX

OUTCOMES - GOING OUT INTO THE WORLD

For this thesis to be successful in its evaluation of the industrial school movement, it needs to examine the long term effect that committal had on the children's lives. This chapter therefore looks at the children's experiences once they had left school, in both the short and long term; that is during the initial period after they had actually left, while the managers continued to exercise control over their former pupils, as well as once the children had become completely free of supervision and fully independent.

Schools reported annually to the Government on their former inmates and this information was used to produce the figures that were included in the inspectors' annual reports. These statistics showed the type of work that ex-industrial school children had taken up, as well as whether these children had re-offended or were leading, at least on the surface, 'successful' lives. Difficulties arise when attempting to compare figures over the long term, due to several factors.

Initially all the information that the schools had to supply on the children's occupations, was much less comprehensive than it was later on. It was not until 1876 that the returns issued to schools were altered to provide detailed information on the range of employment that children entered. Statistics as to the children's success or failure were distorted in the period from 1857 until at least the early 1870s, by the inability of the managers to keep track of their children once they had left school. Reformatory schools were initially more proficient in this respect. As has been shown in Chapter II, changes also occurred in the type and age of children committed to industrial schools. In the later period there was a move away from admitting mainly destitute, vulnerable, younger children towards the committal of older and more criminal ones.

The exact meaning of the terms used to assess the children's success or failure is also problematic. The reliability of these terms was questioned by the 1884 commissioners. They noted the high proportion of former inmates who were reported as 'doing well', which was 75 per cent for reformatory schools and 80 per cent for industrial schools. The commissioners were concerned that there had been insufficient checks made which might have resulted in children having been too readily accepted to be 'doing well' or conversely as 'failed' after just one slip.¹ They emphasised that the accuracy of such statements needed to be examined and some individual cases followed up.

The Home Office required schools to keep in touch with their pupils for two years after they had left. This period was later increased to three years. Records were therefore kept of visits made to the children and by them, and it was on these

that the managers based their reports on the children's progress to the Government. Schools also attempted to maintain links, both formally and informally, between former boys or girls so they could help each other in the outside world and encourage pupils still in the schools. The schools formed associations for their former pupils and ran annual open days, to which they were invited. Children corresponded with their former schools, reporting on their own lives and those of others whose circumstances they knew. Some of their letters together with reports of the work of associations and of open days, survive in the schools' magazines, annual reports and correspondence.

Sources for the period after the children left, are less readily available than those for when children were still resident in schools. Individual personal experiences are difficult to locate. Industrial schools ceased to exist over 65 years ago and the majority of the children who attended them have long since died. Those whose correspondence with the schools survives, tended to be the more successful, while the information about those who did not re-offend but got on less well, is more difficult to trace. One of the more literate of Feltham's old boys wrote of his experiences, both at the school and thereafter, in his autobiography *Guttersnipe*. C. Drage gave a detailed account of the extraordinary life of Morris Cohen, who attended the Hayes industrial school, in his biography *Two Gun Cohen*. It has also been possible to contact a small number of former boys and their families; of whom Kylie Gay has been the most informative.

Children could be allowed out on licence before their sentence had expired and this process of licensing involved the keeping of records, some of which have survived. The 1866 Industrial Schools Amendment Act provided for the issuing of licences, which allowed children to live with any 'trustworthy and respectable' person.² The licences ran for a period of three months but could be renewed quarterly, until the children reached the age of 16. In practice the people most likely to take in children were employers who provided both a home and suitable employment. Should the children's conduct prove to be unsatisfactory the licences could be revoked and the children had to return to their old industrial school. This licensing out was considered to be most beneficial to children during the last year of their term of detention. To encourage managers to release children the amount paid weekly by the Treasury for their upkeep in industrial schools was lower for their final year. This also occurred in reformatory schools.

The 1884 commissioners recommended that the period during which managers, rather than the parents, had control of the children should be extended because some parents might be unduly interested in the potential earning power of their children.. Ten years later, in 1894, Parliament extended the licensing system to

protect children up to the age of 18. The 1884 commissioners also recommended that, when children were licensed out, the Treasury should pay a grant to industrial schools for nine months, similar to that paid to reformatory schools. Some school boards also believed that licensing out was good for the children and wanted to encourage it. One such board was the Manchester School Board, which provided an incentive in the form of a premium of 50s for every child licensed before the age of 16 years, once the child was reported to have behaved well for three months.³

Other managers were less enthusiastic about licensing and liked to keep older children within their schools. This may have been partly due to the children's usefulness, which would have increased with their age. On 31 December 1869, of the 7,345 children in English, Welsh and Scottish industrial schools, just 161 or two per cent were out on licence.⁴ By December 1890 the figure had quadrupled to eight per cent; of the 18,985 children who were under detention, 1,544 were out on licence.⁵ Similar figures for 1913 appear to show an even higher proportion of children being licensed out, 4,187 or 14.5 per cent. The 1913 figures however, are for children in both reformatory and industrial schools and they showed a total figure of 25,113, which included 208 children in auxiliary homes and 138 who had been boarded out.⁶ These latter children were usually the youngest ones. The establishment of truant schools that kept children for short periods and then let them out on licence, has distorted the figures. Once an adjustment has been made to the 1913 figures to allow for these children, the percentage of ordinary industrial school children who were out on licence but who had not completed the period of their sentence, reduces to six per cent.

DISPOSALS

Supervision

One reason that managers liked to place children in local jobs, was that this made it easier to provide aftercare. However, some occupations made the close supervision of children difficult and this was especially so in the case of children that had emigrated or of boys who had joined the services, particularly the Navy. At first managers of industrial schools appear to have had more difficulty than those of reformatory schools in keeping in touch with former pupils. This proved especially difficult for managers of ship schools. In 1884, whilst reformatory ships reported that the same number of boys were doing well during the three years after they had left, as was the case in other reformatory schools, industrial school ships were having to report a larger percentage of boys as 'unknown', and consequently leaving a much smaller percentage who could be acknowledged to be 'doing well' than was the case of ordinary industrial schools.⁷

When children were placed some distance away managers turned to a system of appointing agents. The London Boys' Home appointed a Revd Morgan as its agent for boys sent to Wales, while the LSB had a Captain Plummer who looked after the boys it had sent there. Agents were also appointed to provide supervisory care for those children who had emigrated. In 1907 the Salvation Army took over from the official agent who had had responsibility, for boys under 18 sent out to Canada from the Feltham Industrial School, for which they were paid £14.10.0d per boy.⁸

Many schools tried to keep in touch with their children far beyond the three year period required by the Government. In 1890 the London Boys' Home magazine, *The Budget*, reported on the circumstances of 387 of its 780 former boys. It included information on some boys who had been admitted at the time of the school's opening in 1858 and, with increasing success, on those who had been admitted in the two decades from 1866 up to 1886. Of the boys listed, just 25 had no information included and four had the comment 'no news' or 'no recent news'. The remainder had reports on their marital status, location and occupations. The information the home received did not always come directly from the boys involved and a number were reported as being heard of through another named former boy.⁹

Emigration

The 1884 commissioners were keen that more children should emigrate but emphasised the need to select children carefully, to train those being sent and subsequently to supervise them closely. Even as late as 1913 the Government continued to try to encourage emigration. The 1913 Departmental Committee recommended that the full Treasury grant should be available in all suitable cases and that the then current rule by which grant was reduced if the child was over 14 should be rescinded.

Despite this apparent enthusiasm of those in power for the life of the emigrant, the number of children who were actually sent from industrial schools was never very great. The figures for the period from 1857 until December 1891, showed that, of the 57,521 boys and 14,784 girls who had been discharged from industrial schools, just 1,992 or 2.75 per cent, had emigrated.¹⁰ A slightly greater proportion of boys, rather than girls, emigrated, even allowing for the larger total overall numbers of boys. Early figures for reformatory schools showed more children emigrated from those schools than did so later. The figures for the years 1863 to 1865 showed that 321 or 11 per cent of the 2,785 children who left reformatory schools emigrated.¹¹ On the other hand, for the three years 1867 to 1869 the figure was 298 or eight per cent out of a total of 3,740.¹² By 1875, just 84 or 5.4 per cent, out of total of 1,570 children emigrated. This was a drop of 33 over the previous year and a drop of 61 over 1873.¹³ The figures were to decrease even more, particularly for reformatory school

children. In the three years from 1919 to 1921 just 19 boys or 0.5 per cent and three girls or 0.7 per cent had emigrated on leaving reformatory schools and 92 boys or 1.4 per cent and 14 girls or 1.02 per cent on leaving industrial schools.¹⁴ However the figures for the three years 1925 to 1927 showed a small increase. Of the 1,817 children discharged from reformatory schools, just 13 or one per cent, emigrated, whilst of the 2,646 children discharged from industrial schools, 76 or three per cent emigrated.¹⁵

The numbers of children that emigrated varied from school to school, with some schools setting up their own systems. The Milton Boys' Industrial School in Hampshire had its own distribution home in Canada and in 1904 was sending a third of its boys there.¹⁶ In contrast the Boys' Farm Home sent to Canada just two of the 22 boys who left their home in 1905 and one of the 21 who left in 1906. None of the 16 who left in 1907 or of the 25 who left in 1908 emigrated.¹⁷ Forty five or 11 per cent of the boys listed in the Boys' Home 1890 *Budget* had emigrated, of whom at least one later returned to England and another had emigrated some years after originally leaving the home. Only two boys had gone to Australia, with the remainder going to Canada.¹⁸ The countries destined to receive Britain's unwanted children were not always enthusiastic recipients. Canada passed two acts, one in Ontario in 1897 and the other in Quebec in 1899, which were designed to prevent the immigration of undesirable children but at the same time to provide protection in the form of authorised agents for those children who were accepted.¹⁹ This may have influenced the higher proportion of industrial school children compared to reformatory school children that emigrated.

The acting inspector for 1911, J.C. Pearson, combined the statistics for both types of schools in his report and these showed that the percentage of all children who had emigrated had grown to 4.99 per cent or 179 of the 3,590 children discharged.²⁰ Neither type of school sent as many children in the years immediately following the First World War but the figures for 1921 demonstrated that one per cent of reformatory school children and two per cent of industrial school children were emigrating.²¹ Those children who did emigrate from industrial schools do not appear to have suffered the degree of abuse and mistreatment that the younger children sent out from other institutions suffered. Appalling experiences and harsh conditions are described in books such as *The Lost Children of the Empire* and *The Home Children*.²² Whilst life could be extremely hard for any children sent out to the colonies, for industrial school children there had generally been some degree of selection, training and preparation, and the network of supervision was designed to keep a check on their progress or otherwise. The most important factor in favour of industrial school children was probably their age. Industrial school children appear to

have been sent out only after they had completed their term of committal and were therefore at least 15 years old or on licence during their final year. The children from other institutions were generally much younger. According to the LSB the Catholic Emigration Society, which was typical, they were 'of the opinion that 12 is quite young enough for a child to emigrate, although in some special cases a well-grown and bright lad of 11 might be sent out'.²³ These younger children were inevitably much more vulnerable.

The suitability of boys for the life was crucial and it did not agree with all them. Of the 49 boys sent from the London Boys' Home between 1883 and 1889, by 1890 eight had returned home, two had died and 10 had been lost track of.²⁴ Other boys were happy with their new life. James Gorman, having left the school in 1879, wrote in 1890 with news of some of the other old boys, whom he had asked if they intended to go home. They had told him they did not and that they liked Canada, 'It is the right place for the right people'.²⁵

The Revd Thomas Turner, chaplain of the London Boys' Home, gave advice in the home's magazine for those thinking about going to Canada.

I am often asked by young men whether I advise emigration to Canada, and my answer depends greatly upon the character of the enquirer. If he is willing to work with his hands, and lead an active life, if his health be fairly good, and he has a stock of manly independence and strong perseverance, he is the very person whom Canada will receive with open arms. The young man who wants to sit all day at a desk, wearing a well-cut suit of broadcloth, who does not wish to soil his hands, who cannot get on without a few cigarettes during the day, and who looks down the man who can mend or make his own boots, mend or darn his clothes, build a log hut, and use a plough; this is just the individual Canada does not want. The clerk class is not needed in Canada; but the man who has a trade, or who knows something of farming or of agricultural work is the man who will suit the wants of that great Colony. In a word, drones and fops will not command success any more in Canada than in this country. It is the young man who can and will work who will flourish.²⁶

William Thomas Plaistow, who left the home in 1880, wrote from a farm 13 miles from the nearest town of Minnedosa, nearly 3,000 miles from Montreal, 'The people out here have not been settled long. We have a lot of Redskins here. They are very quiet and peaceable. The work I do is to look after 34 cows, 5 calves and 4 horses, and take them on the prairie and stay all day with them.'²⁷ Henry Sivyer who left in 1882, took a little time to settle down. He wrote from St George, Ontario, 'The family that I live with are very good to me, for they do all they can for me to save my money for me and teach me how to farm. . I am getting along very well with it, but it is hard work, but I don't mind it as I did at first.'²⁸

Although the majority of the boys who emigrated started out working on the land, they did not all continue to do so and some achieved success in different occupations. Others did not emigrate immediately on leaving their school but did so later. R.T. Peak left the Boys' Farm Home in 1879 and after working as the labour master at the school until 1884 went to Queensland under the assisted immigrants' scheme. He was at one time the foreman of a timber yard but set up his own store at Cooparaoo, which he sold in 1918, putting the money into a guest house. By the time he wrote an article about his experiences in about 1950, he owned two large guest houses on the waterfront with 57 and 48 bedrooms respectively. Peak became a pillar of local society, he was made a Justice of the Peace in 1913 as was his son, Len, in 1940. Peak and his son both served as Aldermen of the Coolangatta Town Council, and at the time of Peak's writing, his son had been elected mayor.²⁹

Morris Cohen was sent out to Canada by his family after he left the Hayes Industrial School. Although he started out by working on the land Morris moved on to much more enterprising ventures and eventually became ADC to the Chinese revolutionary, Dr Sun Yat-sen.

The Services

For many of the boys leaving industrial schools the services appeared to be an attractive career and their experience of a disciplined institutional life prepared them for service life. Such employment was considered highly suitable by the Government and many schools employed ex-servicemen, particularly as drill instructors. However some managers had reservations about their boys becoming ordinary soldiers and felt that they would be given a better start in life if they became bandsmen. When being questioned in 1911 by John Lyttelton MP, one of the members of the committee on reformatory and industrial schools, R.H. Glanfield, manager and honorary secretary of the London Boys' Home, justified his dislike of boys going into the Army rather than the Army band as follows:

When a man is discharged from the Army he has very little that he can turn his hand to, consequently he is more likely to fall into any temptation that comes along. A man who comes out from the Army band has a trade at his disposal and there is no need for him to fall into temptation. He has always got something on hand that will earn him money.³⁰

The proportion of children from industrial schools who went into the services was not as great as might be expected. Figures included in the 35th Report of HM Inspector of Prisons, showed the numbers of boys who had been 'sent to sea' and those who had 'enlisted'. Of the total number of boys discharged from industrial schools up to 31 December 1891, that is 57,521, 9,097 or 15.8 per cent went to sea and just 1,789 or 3.1 per cent enlisted in the Army.³¹ Boys from reformatory schools

joined in greater numbers than those from industrial schools and when the latter did enter the services they were more likely to go into better quality work, that is into Army bands or by joining the Royal rather than the Merchant Navy. As far as the Navy was concerned this was in part due to the fact that the Royal Navy was reluctant to take boys from reformatory schools.

Most boys who joined the Navy had trained in ship training schools of some kind. According to the 1884 Royal Commission, 90 per cent of boys trained on other voluntary training ships went into the merchant service or the Royal Navy. Whilst the boys from the nautical section of the Feltham Industrial School, joined in the same proportion, those from Home Office school ships were less likely to have done so. In 1884, there were 11 Home Office ship schools of which three were reformatory school ships and eight were industrial school ships. There was also a marked difference in the success of reformatory ship schools and industrial ship schools in sending boys to sea. Whilst 66 per cent of boys leaving industrial school ships went into one of the naval services, 75 per cent of boys from reformatory school ships did so.³²

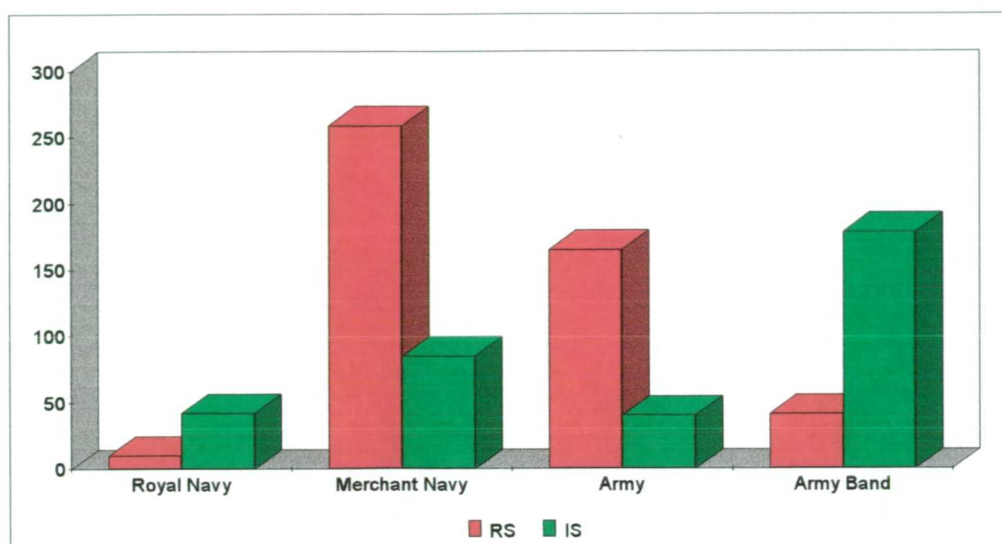
There was a considerable reduction in numbers during the period of the First World War. In 1916 disposals from the ship school *Mount Edgcumbe* were 40 to the Royal Navy, 51 to the Mercantile Marine, 16 returned to friends, 10 transferred, and four went into Army bands. However in 1918 just 16 went into the Navy, one to the Royal Navy and 15 to the Merchant Navy. The LCC inspector put this down to the fact that 'such large wages are to be earned on shore', presumably because so many young men were serving in the armed forces, leaving a labour shortage at home.³³ At the same time the need of the naval services for such large numbers of boys was also decreasing with the change from sail to steam.

In the three years from 1925 to 1927, 26 per cent of boys leaving reformatory schools joined the services, whilst just 13 per cent of industrial school boys did so.³⁴ The following chart shows how these figures were made up in relation to the branches of the services that the boys joined. They are derived from figures in the 4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch and show the numbers involved and the percentage of the total numbers of children that these numbers represented.

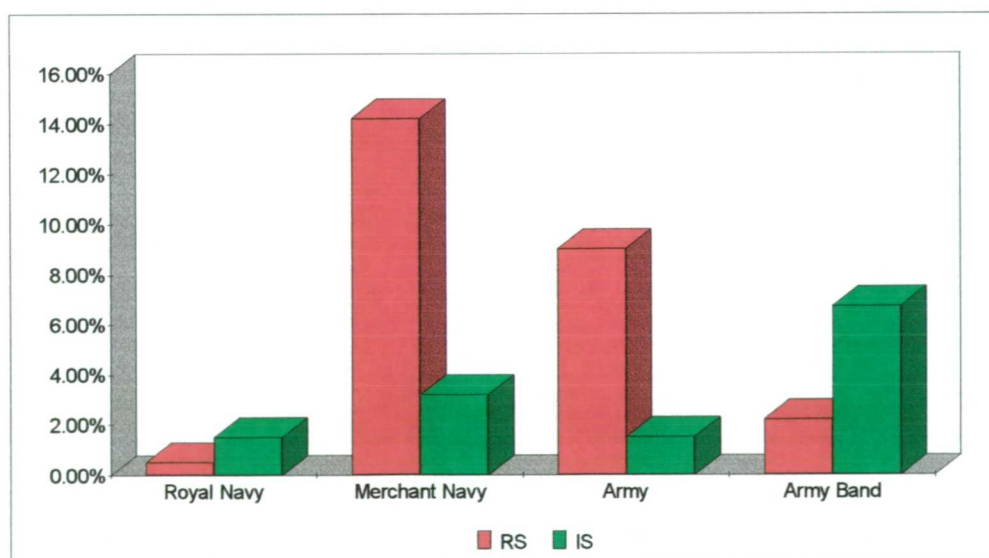
Figure 9.1

BOYS FROM REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS ENTERING THE SERVICES 1925-1927

(a) In actual numbers



(b) As a percentage of the total sent from each type of school



(These charts are based on figures taken from the
4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch 1928 Table X)

An abstract of figures for the whole working male population taken from the census figures for the years from 1861 to 1921, shows that just 1.73 per cent were in the 'armed forces'. Even allowing for the fact that these figures would have covered

men from the period when they had left school until they retired and any period spent in the services would have applied to younger men, there is still a marked difference in the likelihood of ordinary men going into the services compared with those from industrial schools.³⁵

As well as providing a worthwhile career for the boys themselves, those boys who had learned musical instruments in their school bands were looked on as welcome recruits by the Army officers, and those who came from ship schools were well equipped to serve in either the royal or Merchant Navy. The London Boys' Home appears to have catered particularly well for the musical training of the boys in its care. Of the 387 boys for whom information was given in the 1890 *Budget* referred to earlier, at least half of the 102 who had gone into the Army, were shown to be in bands.³⁶ In 1906 of the 35 boys who left the home, eight joined Army bands and five went on to the Royal Naval School of Music.³⁷

Farming

Farming was seen as a useful training for boys who emigrated and as a way of ensuring that boys took up employment away from their old haunts in the towns and cities. In 1928 the 4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch included a special report on 'Farm training as a reformatory Influence'. It stated that industrial training was often criticised for not providing a permanent occupation but that the figures showed that during the previous six years 1,091 or 10.5 per cent of boys discharged from industrial schools had been placed in farm service in England and Wales. This practice appears to have had some measure of success in retaining boys in the countryside, for the 1928 report added that the great majority of the boys stayed on the farms during the two years they were under supervision and that, even after a year of freedom, 72 per cent of those who had been licensed to farms during 1923 and 1924, were still engaged in similar work at the end of 1926 and 1927 respectively.³⁸

Unfortunately the statistics referred to earlier, which covered disposals for the whole of the period up to 1891, did not separate farming from other 'trades' and therefore do not reveal the proportion of boys going onto the land for that period. However the numbers appear to have remained consistent. Of the 11,531 boys who left reformatory and industrial schools in 1908, 1909 and 1910, 1,600 or 13.87 per cent went to work on farms.³⁹ The figures for the years 1921, 1922 and 1923 were separated for reformatory and industrial schools. They showed a similar level of boys going to work on farms; that is 378 or 12.73 per cent of the 2,969 children who left reformatory schools, and 742 or 13.4 per cent of the 5,521 industrial school children.⁴⁰ The figures for the period 1925, 1926 and 1927, showed a very slight increase in the proportion i.e. 14 per cent of reformatory school children and 15 per

cent of industrial school children.⁴¹ In contrast amongst the ordinary male working population the percentage of those employed in agriculture, horticulture or forestry fell from 24.5 per cent in 1861 to 9.8 per cent in 1921 is 14 per cent.⁴²

The propensity to choose particular occupations varied from school to school. Not surprisingly the farm schools tended to choose farming as a career for their boys. At the Boys' Farm Home 14 of the 24 boys who left in 1909 went to work on farms.⁴³ However, it was not always easy to find work on local farms and therefore boys often had to be sent some distance away. The LCC reported that between 1889 and 1911 2,453 boys had been sent from their industrial schools to the distribution centre in Llandilo to work on the farms in West Wales and that many other boys were sent from industrial schools in places as far afield as Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds and Plymouth.⁴⁴ Feltham had a farming section and sent many of its boys to Wales to work on farms, including Samuel Shaw whose autobiography described his experiences.⁴⁵ The distances involved meant that supervision was much more difficult and some, but not all, schools appointed a local agent to oversee the placing of boys and check on their continued welfare. When there was no-one appointed to supervise the care of boys they could be open to neglect or ill-treatment. The Revd Gwilym Davies of Carmarthen cited several cases in a paper read at the United School of Social Service for Wales in September 1913, remarking that of 62 LCC boys who had reached the age of 18 in 1909, 16 had disappeared and their fate was therefore unknown and out of 64 in 1910, 14 had done so.⁴⁶ Davies stated that this system was not without critics amongst the Welsh community who were concerned that the cheap labour provided by the boys reduced the employment prospects of Welsh boys. Boards of Guardians were also concerned that they would become responsible for the welfare of those whose placements did not work out or who later needed parish relief. The clerk of the Carmarthen Board of Guardians, Mr John Saer, reported to a departmental committee of the Local Government Board that, in the period 1909 to 1911, 17 industrial schoolboys were admitted to the Carmarthen Workhouse, of whom one was only 14 years old, three were 15, nine were 16 and three were 17, and one aged 18 was an epileptic. Eleven boys had been brought in by the police, and the others at the instigation of the relieving officers as being destitute and friendless. Some were found to be mentally slow, whilst others had been discharged from their farms for petty thefts and a number had run away because they were dissatisfied with their places. During the summer of 1912, of the nine male patients at the Carmarthen Infirmary, eight were boys from industrial schools. According to the master of the workhouse at Llandilo, from 1909 to 1912 ten former industrial school boys had been brought in by the police, some were only 15 and under, and many were suffering from

skin diseases. Five former industrial schoolgirls were also admitted, one of whom was the wife an 'imbecile English boy'.⁴⁷

The Home Office also expressed concern over the plight of the children. A circular was issued by the chief inspector, Dr Norris, in January 1920, which complained that English boys were 'cut off' because of the language difficulty and that the accommodation, wages and clothing were inadequate. These criticisms were roundly refuted by the superintendent of the Portslade Industrial School, particularly as far as LCC schools were concerned. He wrote, 'Portslade boys do not sleep in 'lofts, over stables, dirty ill-lit and ill-ventilated. Each boy has a separate bed and in most cases a separate room.'⁴⁸

According to Davies there were frequently problems with the boys' lack of understanding in the care of animals, together with 'the stubborn temper which many of these boys possess' and there appear to have been a number of cases of theft committed by boys.⁴⁹ At the same time he believed that these boys were as much sinned against as sinning and that the Welsh farmers found the English lad to be 'economically indispensable'. The Revd Davies recommended the formation of an after-care association made up of representatives of all of the religious denominations, which would register farms which provided good care and black-list others. He believed this would 'do away with the popular fallacy that most of the boys are treated like dogs'.⁵⁰

Sam Shaw was sent on licence to Wales from the Feltham Industrial School, early in 1898, at the age of 14, some years before the Home Office circular was written. His circumstances seem to have been at some variance with that believed to have been the case for Portslade boys in 1920. His wages were 1/11d a week and he worked from sunrise to sunset, with little time off. He slept in what he described as a 'bin', which was situated between two cowsheds, where the hay and straw was kept for the cattle. At the end was a wooden structure which was both his bed and that of another older farmworker's. They had a straw mattress, heavy home spun blankets and two thick clean sacks. Sam wrote that the animals, housed on either side, kept it warm.

Sam had been provided with two sets of clothes on leaving Feltham but found that the money he earned was insufficient to replace them as they wore out and were patched beyond recognition. However the food was 'good and appetising' and he overcame the problems of language by learning to speak Welsh. Once the term of his licence ran out a new boy was sent to the farm and Sam moved on to a neighbouring farm to work. He did not appear to have been especially dissatisfied with the way of life for he continued as a farmer's lad for a total of seven years but then went to work in the mines to earn more money. He married and raised his family in Wales, only

leaving to seek work in London when the depression and ill-health meant he had no job.⁵¹

Trades and other occupations

With about 15 per cent of industrial school children entering the services, a further three per cent emigrating and a further 14 per cent going onto farms, this still left the large majority, nearly 70 per cent, of the children to be found work in a range of occupations. The range of work that boys undertook were wide and not necessarily related to the training they had received or work they had done whilst in the schools. As far as girls were concerned they were almost invariably expected to enter domestic service.

The disposal figures for industrial school children for the period up to 1891 did not include a detailed breakdown of the various occupations that the children took up. Figure 9.2 shows these figures, with the addition of the proportion these numbers represented as a percentage of the total number of discharges. It shows that about 29 per cent of the boys returned to their families, who found work for them. Forty per cent of the boys and 63 per cent of the girls went into a general category of 'employment or service' and these places would have been found for them through the help of the school managers, three per cent enlisted and a further three per cent emigrated.⁵²

Figure 9.2

TOTAL DISPOSALS OF INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL BOYS AND GIRLS UP TO 1891

	Boys	Boys %	Girls	Girls %
Employment or service	22764	40%	9257	63%
To friends or family	16600	29%	3524	24%
Emigrated	1628	3%	364	2%
Sent to sea	9097	16%	0	0
Enlisted	1789	3%	0	0
Discharged as diseased	1330	2%	413	3%
Committed to reformatories	1138	2%	200	1%
Died	1935	3%	832	5.6%
Absconded and not recovered	1240	2%	194	1%
	57521		14784	

(These figures are taken from the 35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools- PP 1892 XLIII p. 33)

Whilst Home Office inspectors' reports for the early period of industrial schools gave general figures for the various types of work undertaken by children after they had left industrial and reformatory schools, they did not tend to be as

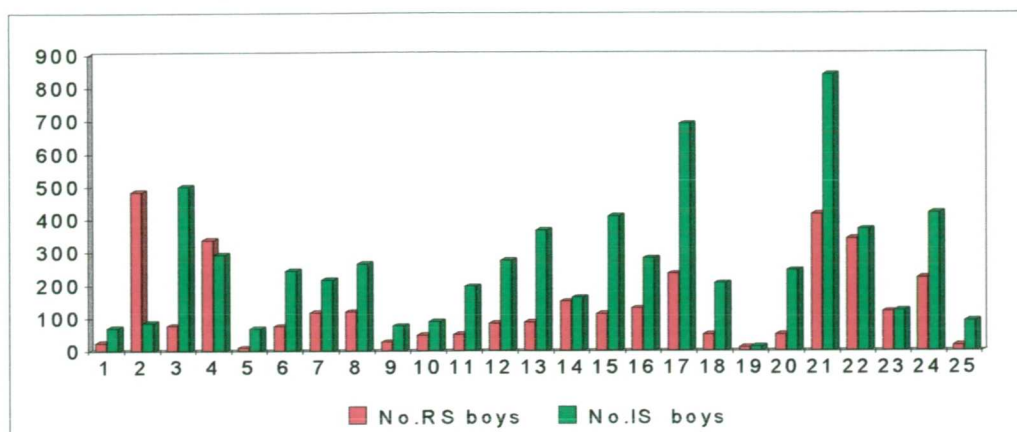
comprehensively broken down as in later periods. More detailed information was given from 1897 onwards but the figures that are given cover both industrial and reformatory schools. The 55th Report, for the year 1911, included joint statistics for 11,531 boys and 2,715 girls. Excluding the services and farming, mining seems to have taken the largest number of boys, 839, with the second largest number working as labourers of various kinds, 797. The range of other occupations was wide with more than 30 listed. As far as girls are concerned the greatest number became general servants, 1,049, or 38 per cent. Just 86 returned home to help their parents and the remainder generally took on domestic work of some kind or another but with 6 becoming clerks or typists and 4 teachers. Being 'married' for 95 girls was considered to be an occupation.⁵³ The figures in Mitchell and Deane's book, abstracted from the census for 1911, showed that of the male working population of 12,927,000, 56,000 or 4 per cent were involved in domestic offices and personal services, whilst of the total female working force of 5,413,000, 2,127,000 or 39 per cent were similarly employed. The textile trade took the next largest number of women, 701,000, followed by clothing, which took 602,000.⁵⁴

The 1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch for 1923 listed the occupations that boys and girls had entered on leaving reformatory and industrial schools separately, which allows a comparison to be made of the types of work undertaken by children from each of the two types of school.⁵⁵ The figures covered the three years 1919 to 1921 and have been added together and calculated as a percentage of the total number of girls or boys who left during that period. The following four charts show the occupations that children took up. Whilst on the whole children from both reformatory and industrial schools went into the same types of work the charts show up differences in the popularity of occupations between the two schools.

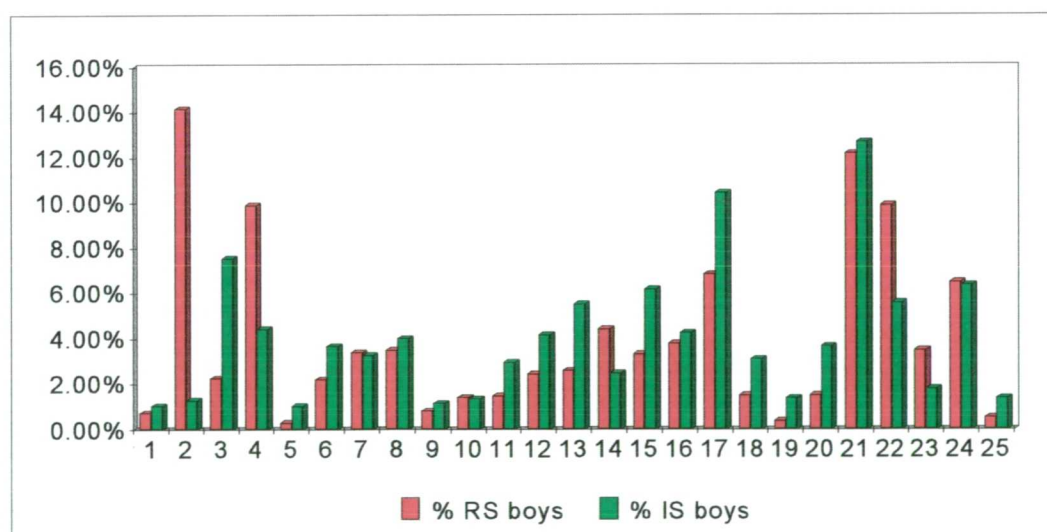
REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS BOYS OCCUPATIONS 1919-1921

Figure 9.3

(a) Numbers of boys entering each trade



(b) As a percentage of total discharges



Boys occupations

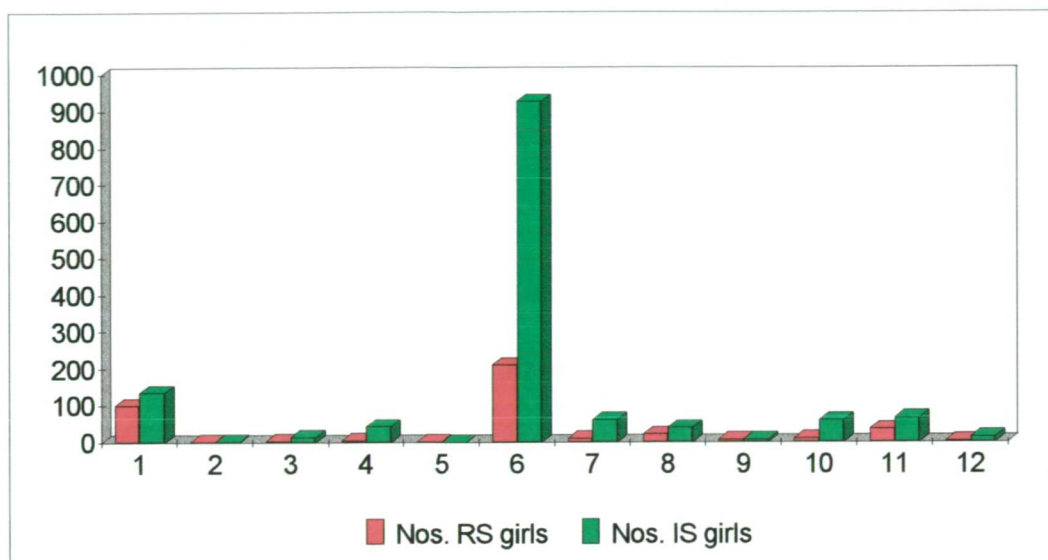
- | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Navy | 9. Printers* | 17. Factory hands |
| 2. Army | 10. Painters* | 18. Dom. Service |
| 3. Army band | 11. Bakers* | 19. Drivers |
| 4. M. Marine | 12. Tailors* | 20. Messengers/porters |
| 5. Clerks | 13. Shoemakers* | 21. Farm hands |
| 6. Shop Asst. | 14. Gardeners* | 22. Labourers |
| 7. Mechanics* | 15. Metal workers* | 23. Carmen |
| 8. Carpenters* | 16. Miners | 24. Other regular employment |
| | | 25. Emigrated |

(These figures are taken from the 1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch 1923
Table VII p. 104. * These occupations are described 'as skilled')

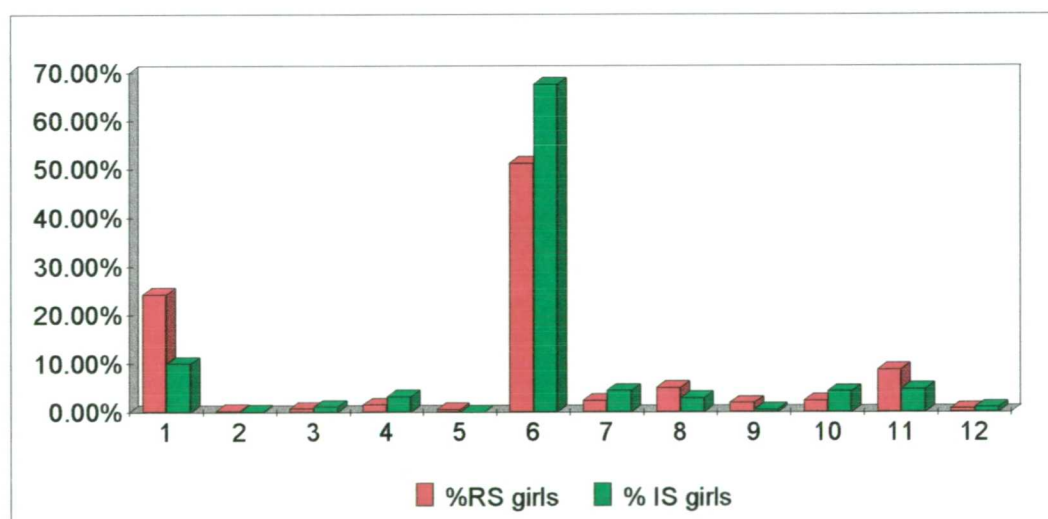
Figure 9.4

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS GIRLS OCCUPATIONS 1919-1921

(a) Numbers of girls entering trades



(b) As a percentage of total discharges



Girls occupations

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Assisting parents at home | 7. Nursemaids |
| 2. Teachers | 8. Laundrymaids |
| 3. Clerks and typists | 9. Waitresses |
| 4. Dressmakers | 10. Factory hands |
| 5. Dairymaids | 11. Other regular employment |
| 6. General service | 12. Emigrated |

(These figures are taken from the 1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch 1923
Table VII p. 105.)

During the period 1919 to 1921 the most popular choice of occupation for boys from reformatory schools was the services, particularly the Army. Although they were less likely than industrial schoolboys to join Army bands, a small number still did so. The next most favoured occupation was work on farms and this was equally well favoured amongst industrial school boys. The third most popular job was as labourers, with gardening and driving also taking more reformatory school boys than those from industrial schools.

On the other hand, work in factories was more popular for industrial school boys than for those from reformatories as were trades such as metalwork, shoemaking, tailoring and baking. Whilst 34.9 per cent of boys entered what were described as skilled occupations, this figure was 23.49 per cent for reformatory school boys. Industrial schoolboys were also more likely to become messengers, shop workers and domestic workers.

Nearly one quarter of reformatory schoolgirls returned home to their family or friends on their discharge; a much higher proportion than was the case for industrial schoolgirls at just 9.92 per cent. This could be an indication of a higher incidence, amongst industrial schoolgirls, of inadequate families to which they could return. The figures for girls from industrial schools showed they were most likely to become general domestic servants and whilst this was still very popular for reformatory school girls it was slightly less so. Industrial school girls were also more likely to become dressmakers, nursemaids and factory hands, than their reformatory school counterparts.

Apprenticing

Although apprenticing was considered to be a valuable option for further training of children from industrial schools, it was an expensive one and not many schools appear to have taken this step. Managers could apprentice any child that had been placed out on licence and had conducted himself or herself well. The child's consent was needed but not that of the parent. From time to time the Boys' Home did apprentice a few of its boys and on occasions apprenticeships were arranged with its own staff. One boy, Samuel Sharp, was apprenticed to the cabinetmaker at the Home, and another, James S. Geary, was apprenticed to the carpenter at the Home and lived at the St George's auxiliary home. Yet another boy, George H. Bones, was apprenticed as a bricklayer but this time it was through the help of the Tylers' and Bricklayers' Company, to a builder at Carshalton.

Auxiliary Homes

When children left their schools accommodation was not always provided as part of their work, and because it was difficult for them to find cheap, suitable accommodation, hostels were set up both by schools and independent charitable

bodies. The London Boys' Home ran a hostel in George Street, Hampstead where former boys from the home stayed. The Home Office paid 2/6d a week to any such home for each boy licensed to a home before his period of detention had finished and the LSB also contributed 2/6d. for each boy sent to a certified working boys home by them. Whilst at the home the boys received supervision and care. The 1884 commissioners considered the homes had been highly useful and expressed a wish that these should increase.⁵⁶

SUCCESS OR RELAPSE

As mentioned earlier, schools annually provided figures on the performance of those children who had left their immediate care, covering a period of three years. These figures were reproduced in the Home Office inspector's annual reports. Initially reformatory schools appear to have been more successful than industrial schools, in monitoring their children after they had left. The explanation given by the chief inspector, Sydney Turner, was that 'So many of them [industrial school children] belong to a more vagrant and unsettled class, that more difficulty is experienced in tracing them'.⁵⁷ The figures for the years 1862, 1863 and 1864 showed that 13 per cent of the reformatory school children were returned as 'unknown', whilst 29 per cent of the industrial school children had 'passed beyond the managers' enquiry'.⁵⁸ By 1870 the aggregate percentage of all untraced industrial school children had reduced to 16.5 per cent for boys and 14 per cent for girls.⁵⁹ The figures for the years from 1871 to 1873 showed a further reduced rate of unknown boys of 12.4 per cent and for girls 9.2 per cent. The figures for reformatory schools were very similar, with 9.3 per cent of the boys and 11.2 per cent of the girls being 'unknown'.⁶⁰

M.A. Black in her dissertation on the seven Liverpool RC industrial schools, extracted figures for the period from 1868 to 1891. These demonstrated a much greater rate of success in keeping in touch with their children.⁶¹ Despite this the early returns for all industrial schools showed a different picture. The figures for 1863-5 included 297 children as 'unknown' but of these the numbers of Catholic children were much greater than of Protestant children. The inspector wrote that he 'could see no reason' for this but anticipated 'more satisfactory figures under this head now that the Liverpool Catholic schools are placed on a better footing'.⁶² The report for the following few years continued to find the figures for RC children discouraging and the figures for the period 1866 to 1868 showed 14.3 per cent of English Protestant boys as 'unknown', compared to 44.8 per cent of RC boys; while 15 per cent of English Protestant girls and 55 per cent of RC girls were similarly recorded.⁶³ The figures for 1870 to 1872 indicated some improvement but they continued to show higher figures for 'unknown' RC children. Of the English Protestant boys 11.2 per

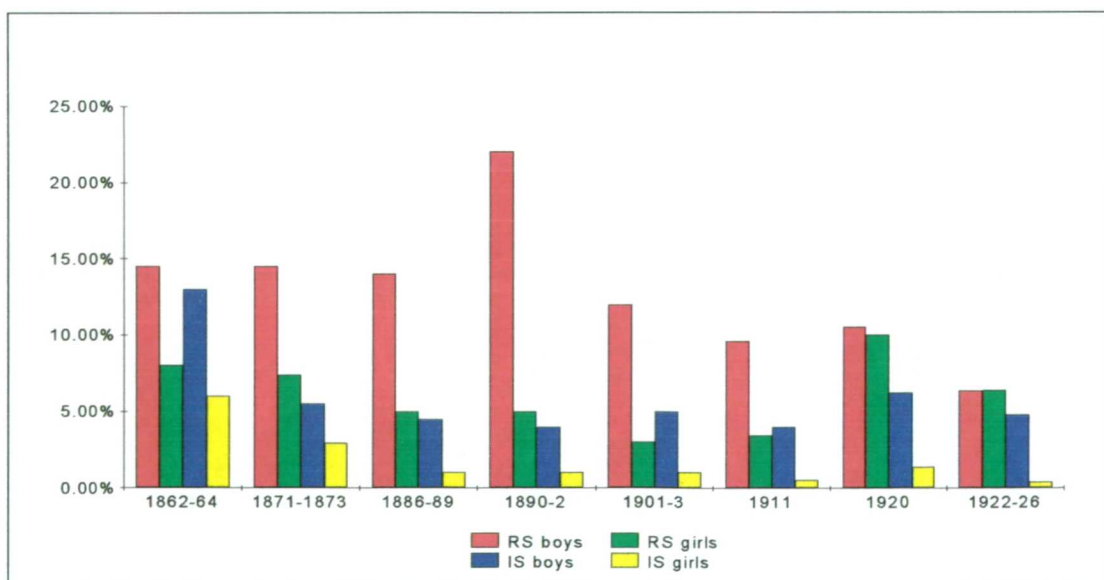
cent were 'unknown' compared to 26.6 per cent of RC boys; 14.6 per cent of English Protestant girls and 28.2 per cent of RC girls were 'unknown'. The figures for Scotland were 13.6 per cent of Protestant Boys, 103 per cent of RC boys, 7.5 per cent of Protestant girls and 11.4 per cent of RC girls.⁶⁴

Most schools tried to keep in touch with their children initially through personal correspondence and visits by representatives of the school. However this was more difficult the further away the children were and individuals and associations were approached to take over this work. The Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, for a small fee, undertook the supervision of girls from industrial schools who had been placed into domestic service in London and also provided places in their lodging houses when the need arose. Emigrants were particularly difficult to check up on. When members of schools' staff undertook the long journey with new immigrants they often tried to visit others who had previously been sent to the same place. With both limited time and money this was not always possible. Those already living and working in other countries were encouraged to look out for other children similarly placed and report back on their progress. Agents and agencies also were brought in to help. In 1898 the Glasgow Juvenile Delinquency Board which sent girls from Maryhill, sent a lady to Canada to check up on them.

The inspectors' reports show the following figures for children brought before the courts.

Figure 9.5

REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS NUMBERS OF RE-OFFENDERS



(These figures have been calculated from the triennial figures included in the Reports of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools from 1862 to 1922.)

Not surprisingly the figures for the degree of relapse appear to have been consistently higher for children from reformatory schools compared to industrial school children. It was generally double. The exceptions to this were during the early period and in the later years. In 1928 a change in the figures was described as 'definitely disconcerting' by the Children's Branch of the Home Office, when the proportion of children who were considered to have been successful was almost the same for both types of school.⁶⁵ This was put down to the fact that there had been considerable reluctance on the part of local authorities to incur the cost of sending children to industrial schools and that by the time they were sent the children were older and more difficult to reform than had previously been the case. As far as girls schools were concerned the figures for both schools show that the proportion who offended was much lower than for boys and this was particularly so for girls from industrial schools.

In 1928 the statistics for those who were considered to be doing well showed that 85.7 per cent of the boys leaving industrial schools and 95.8 per cent of girls were 'successful'; whilst 83 per cent of the boys and 64.8 per cent of the girls leaving reformatory schools were similarly classified. The number of industrial school boys who were 'successful' fell to 80.8 per cent in 1930, when the figure for reformatory school boys was 83.5 per cent, for industrial school girls 92.5 per cent and reformatory schools girls 80 per cent.⁶⁶ Whilst there does not appear to have been a great deal of difference at that time between the success rates of both types of schools for boys, as far as girls were concerned the difference between the outcomes for those from industrial schools and those from reformatory schools is marked. The fact that reformatory schools were likely to admit more difficult girls may well be a factor.

CONCLUSION

A period of time in an industrial school was likely to change the pattern of the children's lives. Only a small number returned to live with their families and to pick up the pieces of any family life they may have had. The great majority made their way in life independent of their families, often living some distance away and in occupations that were unrelated to any family traditions.

As far as determining the types of work that the children took up is concerned this chapter has shown that boys who attended industrial schools were far more likely to enter the services than were ordinary children, and whilst similar numbers went into agricultural work, the farms to which the boys went were unlikely to be in the district in which their families lived. The boys who emigrated, for the most part, stayed and in time merged into the general population. Most industrial school boys entered a wide range of jobs which had, on the whole, been found for them by the school managers. It had been considered beneficial if boys were sent to schools away from

their own districts to separate them from their old associates and therefore when work was found by managers it was often local to the school rather than the boys' homes and again ensured they did not return to pick up where they had left off.

As far as girls were concerned, domestic work was their most likely occupation, which they undertook in greater numbers than girls from ordinary backgrounds. Again only a small proportion returned to their families or friends, the large majority started their working life in a new area in work unrelated to their traditional family work.

Whilst the training provided for the majority of the children did not offer a means of rising up the social ladder, some were given opportunities that would not have been available had they not been committed. This was particularly the case for technical and musical training. Elementary schools did not generally have the facilities or staff at hand in many industrial schools or access to the musical instruments.

The brighter and more conscientious children from time to time were trained as pupil teachers and stayed on as staff. Other more practical children were trained as labour masters. In 1890 at the London Boys' Home Henry Nanfan was employed as yardmaster and taught gymnastics and Charles Palmer was head of the firewood department. Although many were happy to remain with their own schools, having qualified they could move on to the wider world. John Robinson, who was a voluntary case at the Essex Industrial School, went to the Shustoke Industrial School in Birmingham as a teacher, then to work for a company called Crips in Seven Sisters Road and subsequently to Mr. Spurgeon's Tabernacle College to train for the Ministry. He became the minister at the Baptist Chapel at Henley in Arden and then at Long Crendon, near Thame. He kept in touch with his old school and attended the old boys' reunion in 1892.⁶⁷

The William Morris Company selected some of the more skilled boys from the London Boys' Home to join their staff. The high standard of the musical training given at that home also provided opportunities. Thomas Sutton who had been admitted to the school in 1867 was the bandmaster of the West London Foresters' brass band in 1890. Feltham also had a good musical reputation and the 1908 Annual Report stated that as well as many of their old boys becoming bandmasters in the Army one had become a music master at Harrow! However, whether this was the school or the town is not clear.⁶⁸

The most important determinant as to the success of the commitment of children to industrial schools was the choice of the school to which they were sent. Despite efforts by the Government to standardise the treatment that the children received, there were considerable differences between schools. How well equipped the children were to face the world and the choice of work that they were likely to undertake

varied from school to school. On the whole children could expect that the practical training they had received gave them some skills which would enable to earn a living. For the luckier ones, their talents had been noticed and they were given opportunities to improve themselves. For good or ill however almost inevitably the pattern of the children's lives had been changed by their time spent in industrial schools.

Notes

- ¹Royal Commission on the Management and Condition generally of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain - PP 1884 (3876 I) XLV.I p. xxxii
- ²Industrial Schools Amendment Act - Vic 29 & 30 Cap CXXXVIII
- ³Royal Commission on the Management and Condition generally of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain - PP 1884 (3876 I) XLV.I p. xxxii
- ⁴13th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1870 (170) XXVI p. 21
- ⁵35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1892 (6733) XLIII.1 p. 31
- ⁶57th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1914-1916 (7776) XXIV p. 7
- ⁷Royal Commission on the Management and Condition generally of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain - PP 1884 (3876 I) para. 47
- ⁸G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c. 1979) p. 45
- ⁹Boys' Home *The Budget* (28 Feb 1890) pp. 14-23
- ¹⁰35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools 1892 (6733) XLIII.I p. 33
- ¹¹10th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1867 (3889) XXXVI p. 14
- ¹²14th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1871 (373) XXVIII p. 9
- ¹³19th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1876 (1534) XXXIV p. 19
- ¹⁴First Report of the Work of the Children's Branch Table VII pp. 104, 105
- ¹⁵4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (1928) pp. 123-4
- ¹⁶Final Report of the London School Board (1904) p. 30
- ¹⁷Boys' Farm Home Annual Reports 1905-9
- ¹⁸Boys' Home *The Budget* (28 Feb 1890) pp. 14-23
- ¹⁹The Ontario Act 1897 and the Quebec Act of 30 Jan 1899 referred to in The Final Report of the London School Board (1904) p 25
- ²⁰55th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools Part II - PP 1912-1913 (6296) XLVI p. 13
- ²¹1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (1923) p. 104
- ²²Philip Bean and Joy Melville, *The Lost Children of the Empire* (London 1989) and Phyllis Harrison, *The Home Children* (Winnipeg, Canada 1979)
- ²³The Final Report of the London School Board (1904) p. 28

- ²⁴The Boys' Home *The Budget* (28 Feb 1890) p. 13
- ²⁵*Ibid.* p. 18
- ²⁶*Ibid.* p. 11
- ²⁷*Ibid.* p. 21
- ²⁸*Ibid.*
- ²⁹R.T. Peak, The Boys' Farm Home papers (c 1950)
- ³⁰Report of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - Minutes of Evidence R.H. Glanfield (15 Jun 1911) - PP 1911 (6839) XXXIX p. 153
- ³¹35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1892 (6733) XLIII.I p. 33
- ³²Report of the Royal Commission on the Management and Condition generally of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain - PP 1884 (3876 I) XLV.I p. xxxiii
- ³³Report of the LCC Inspector (London and Metropolitan Archives - EO/PS/12/148/1)
- ³⁴4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (1928) Table X pp. 123,124
- ³⁵B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge 1962) Table B p. 60
- ³⁶The Boys' Home *The Budget* (28 Feb 1890) pp. 14-23
- ³⁷London Metropolitan Archives - EO/PS/SP/108
- ³⁸4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch p. 64
- ³⁹55th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1912-1913 (6296) XLVI p. 22
- ⁴⁰2nd Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (1924) Table VI p. 78
- ⁴¹4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (1928) Table X pp. 123,124
- ⁴²B.R. Mitchell and Phyllis Deane *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge 1962) Table B p. 60
- ⁴³Annual Report of the Boys' Farm Home (1909) p. 16
- ⁴⁴Gwilym Davies, *The Industrial School-boy* (Camarthen 1913) p. 3
- ⁴⁵Samuel Shaw, *Guttersnipe* (London 1946)
- ⁴⁶Gwilym Davies, *The Industrial School-boy* (Camarthen 1913) p. 7
- ⁴⁷*Ibid.* p. 12
- ⁴⁸Report of the LCC Inspector (London and Metropolitan Archives EO/SS/8/22)
- ⁴⁹Gwilym Davies, *The Industrial School-boy* (Camarthen 1913) p 13
- ⁵⁰*Ibid.* p.16
- ⁵¹Sam Shaw, *Guttersnipe* (London 1946) ch. XIII
- ⁵²35th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1892 (6733) XLIII.I p. 33

- ⁵³55th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1912-1913 (6296) XLVI p. 22
- ⁵⁴B.R. Mitchell & Phyllis Deane, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge 1962)
- ⁵⁵1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (1923) Table VII pp. 104,105
- ⁵⁶Royal Commission on the Management and Condition generally of Certified Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1884 (3876.I) XLV.1 p. xxxii
- ⁵⁷9th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1865 (3527) XXV p. 15
- ⁵⁸8th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1865 (3527) XXV p. 7
- ⁵⁹14th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1871 (373) XXVIII p. 22
- ⁶⁰18th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1875 (1311) XXXVI pp. 29,42
- ⁶¹M.A. Black, 'The Background and Development of Industrial Schools for Roman Catholic Children in Liverpool' MEd (Liverpool 1975) Table 24
- ⁶²10th Report of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools 1867 (3889) XXXVI p. 22
- ⁶³13th Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1870 (170) XXXVI p. 25
- ⁶⁴16th Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools PP 1873 (817) XXXI p. 20
- ⁶⁵4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (1928) p. 98
- ⁶⁶5th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch 1938 Tables VI & VII p135
- ⁶⁷Essex Industrial School Discharge Register (Essex Record Office D/Q 40/12)
- ⁶⁸G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School* (unpublished c 1979) p. 4

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

The goal of this thesis is to bring about a better understanding of the work of the residential industrial schools, certified by the Home Office between 1857 and 1933. Were they the ‘moral hospitals’ that May would have us believe? Was Hurt more accurate in assessing them as having ‘a disciplined and oppressive routine of hard work, severe punishment and austere living conditions’? Did Black demonstrate a better understanding of the schools when writing ‘the industrial school may not have been the ideal solution but it was better than the alternatives offered in its day’?¹ To achieve its objective this thesis has investigated all aspects of the establishment and management of the schools.

The first half of the nineteenth century had seen increased hardship, social unrest, and disruption to the lives of many of the poorest people, living in the countryside, who moved to towns to seek work. Middle-class society’s concern about the increased cost of supplying relief, led to the introduction of the 1834 Poor Law. Over the second half of the century, society began to soften its attitude towards the poor. From viewing the ‘dangerous and perishing classes’ as a threat, and their children as ‘street arabs’, at least some of the children were seen more as victims of their circumstances and as ‘waifs and strays’. At the same time the State was beginning to accept a measure of responsibility for the care and education of its children. The industrial school movement developed through and out of these changes.

The provision of elementary education for all children followed some years after the enactment of the 1857 Industrial Schools Act, and the provision of training and education for vulnerable children. The establishment of school boards introduced a new element in the founding and management of industrial schools, as well as in the committal and supervision of industrial school children. As the century drew to a close there was a noticeable decrease in the involvement of individuals and an increase in the role of bodies such as the school boards. Even when boards did not found industrial schools of their own they frequently set up special committees or sub-committees, which dealt with committing children, their supervision and continued care as well as inspection of the schools. The concept that school attendance was an essential part of childhood, led to industrial schools taking on a further role incorporating truant schools. The 1880s added another group of children to be cared for under industrial school legislation, those considered to be sexually vulnerable and this was followed by the establishment of special industrial schools for handicapped children.

The work of industrial schools reached a peak in the 1890s but then started to decline. Improvements in the provision and standard of elementary education had been taking place outside the Home Office schools but these were slow to be reflected within them. As the employment of children was replaced by attendance at school, the balance and range of training and education within industrial schools began to alter. In 1918 the school leaving age was raised to 14 and, although it was not compulsory for industrial schools to comply, the concept of dividing the day into two periods of training and work was becoming difficult to sustain. Industrial schools were becoming no longer viable as they were originally conceived and changes needed to be introduced in the way the schools were run. The First World War delayed facing up to these inconsistencies but thereafter considerable efforts were made to raise the standards of both care and education within the schools. In the 1920s the location and condition of many of the school buildings were no longer considered to be appropriate or adequate and large numbers of schools were closed. Improved social conditions had changed society's needs and, with the enactment of the 1933 Approved Schools Act, industrial schools were merged with reformatory schools, into one new system with three layers of schools, housing children of three different age groups.

The span of reformatory schools was similar to that of industrial schools but the schools did not admit the same numbers of children that the industrial schools did, nor were they to see the rapid growth of the 1880s that their fellow Home Office schools experienced. However, like industrial schools, they declined in number during early decades of the twentieth century. Whilst during the first half of the nineteenth century social welfare had been seen as a matter for individual philanthropy or work within local parishes, the reformatory and industrial school movement was part of a move away from individual, localised initiatives, towards more standardised, national schemes assisted by voluntary individuals and bodies. Today there is a general view that responsibility for child welfare is primarily the State's, with the voluntary sector playing a supporting role.

Industrial schools had been established to provide care and education for vulnerable children, needing long term, structured help. This they did over several years whilst the children lived at the school and for two or three years thereafter. This was likely to be longer than the period of time children spent in reformatory schools, despite their supervision continuing for a further year until the age of nineteen, because reformatory school children were older on admission.

More boys were admitted to both reformatory and industrial schools than girls, with the latter forming just one in five. Potentially criminal and destitute boys were more visible on the streets than the girls, who were more likely to be taking care

of their younger siblings rather than running wild. However the sexual vulnerability of girls was of greater concern than that of boys. Legislation introduced in the 1880s enabled a wider range of vulnerable children to be covered by the work of the industrial schools and the proportion of girls' schools increased slightly from that point and up to and including the 1890s, with 22 per cent of the children in industrial schools being girls compared to just 13 per cent of those in reformatory schools.² By the 1920s the difference had become less noticeable, with girls being 17 per cent of the children in industrial schools and 15 per cent in reformatory schools.³ The higher proportion of girls sent to industrial rather than reformatory schools was consistent but was subject to some fluctuation.

Whilst the grounds for the children's admission were subject to change, their family circumstances remained consistent, with one third of the children continuing to come from families with only one parent. This was in line with the figures that Michelle Cale noted when examining the records of the Children's Society. She found that one third of the girls admitted by the Church of England Waifs' and Strays' Society were children of single mothers.⁴ However the number of deserted children declined and by 1933 the vagrant and destitute children, described in the original 1857 Act, had largely been replaced by children who had been charged with offences or who were considered out of control, although vulnerable children continued to be admitted.

While the children admitted to reformatory schools and industrial schools were usually from the same class of society, industrial school children were admitted at a younger and less disruptive and delinquent stage but most importantly, were considered not to be 'criminal'. The 1896 Departmental Committee asserted 'it should be clearly understood that no industrial school child is criminal'.⁵ However the public conception of the children who attended reformatory schools and those who attended industrial schools was confused and this confusion continues today. While Michelle Cale, writing in 1993, accepted that 'no criminal offence' was needed for a child to be sent to an industrial schools she maintained that delinquency in the form of 'unrestrained, unsuitable behaviour had to be present' rather than recognising that some children were admitted for their own sake and not through any fault of theirs.⁶ Much depends on the understanding of the word 'criminal', which can mean different things to different people, and the age at which children can be held to be responsible for their own actions.

The reformatory school system, with its period of initial imprisonment, was promoted as a means of first punishing and then reforming children who were criminal. This did not however deal with the problem of vulnerable children who were likely to become criminal, particularly younger children. For those

philanthropists who wished to provide care for destitute and delinquent children but were against any form of child imprisonment, the industrial school system was seen as the more suitable. The two schools therefore had a different ethos which drew towards them people with contrasting ideas on the principal of punishment and reform. Whilst the schools' regimes were in many ways similar and they were supervised and inspected in the same way by the Home Office, it was this principal difference in attitudes towards the children that made a material difference to the character of the schools. That there was a distinction between the two schools cannot be doubted for the eventual outcomes have been found to be different for the two groups of children. The ability of industrial school children to find better types of work or acceptance into the services, particularly the Royal Navy, shown in Chapter IX, confirms a disparity in the way the children were perceived by the general public and the State as well as those involved in running the schools.

The managers of both reformatory and of industrial schools assumed the role of guardians for the children in their care and made decisions on their behalf that in ordinary circumstances would have been the parents' responsibility. Contact between the children and their parents was often discouraged, particularly when the latter were considered to be a bad influence. Not all industrial schools were able to continue to live up to the expectations of their original founders, and theories about care and education were changing in the world outside. As time went on there were increasing difficulties in replacing the early idealists, who believed in the principles promoted in their campaign for legislation, as well as in obtaining suitable staff.

Chapter IV described four main groups of founders. There were independent individuals, magistrates, religious bodies and local education authorities. By far the largest group was that of independent individuals. However, much of the idealism of this group of people was lost when they died and their roles were taken over by both bodies and individuals who were less fired with the zeal and aspirations of the early campaigners. Within all of these four groups can be seen the 'realists' and the 'humanitarians' that Stack described in his article on social policy, as involved in the reformatory school movement.⁷ The industrial schools with their lack of an initial period of imprisonment and their concept of reformation tended to attract the 'humanitarians', within whose ranks Stack included Mary Carpenter and C.B. Adderley, both of whom who had been so active in the campaign for the introduction of legislation. Reformatory schools found much of their support from magistrates whom Stack described as 'realists'.

Since it was the managers who selected the superintendents of their schools, their attitudes towards the way in which the children should be treated was an important factor in the type of staff they chose and the influence they had on the

schools' management. Chapter V described the staff as falling into two main groups, the trade instructors and those who taught in the schoolroom. There was some inter-change between the staff of Poor Law schools, industrial schools and reformatories, but less so with elementary schools. The residential nature of the schools inevitably meant that industrial school staff, unlike those of elementary schools, had to undertake additional duties, which involved the welfare of their charges as well as their education and since they often lived on site their family life was very much tied up with that of the school.

Pay was often lower than in elementary schools but was compensated by the frequent provision of accommodation as well as free laundry and heating. Particularly during the earlier period there was a readiness to employ unqualified teaching staff. Some schools used the pupil-teacher system to train their teachers, for there was a lack of appropriate training available for the particular type of work that these people had to undertake. Trade staff often came from amongst local tradesmen or ex-servicemen who were not used to working with children but former boys were also retained to work as trade staff.

Industrial schools were founded before the introduction of universal compulsory education and came under the authority of the Home Office, rather than the Education Department, for the most of the time. They were not intended to fulfil the role of schools in the accepted meaning of the word in the way that elementary, grammar or even public schools did. Their role was to provide care and fit their children for a useful adult life with the result that less emphasis was put on schooling and more on practical industrial training. However, the balance did change and as higher educational standards were demanded, more qualified teachers were employed. When compulsory education became universally available the period of the day allocated to schoolwork increased, as did the age up to which the children attended. Industrial school children were committed up to the age of 15, even though schooling may have been part-time. On the other hand, it was not until 1918 that the age of children leaving elementary schools was raised to 14.

Educational standards on the whole were not high, although there were some notable exceptions. All schools provided the basic three Rs, together with an element of religious and moral education. A few schools were more ambitious and introduced a wider range of topics including science and music. Most children had received little or a very interrupted period of schooling prior to their admission and they were therefore likely to have begun their time at industrial schools with a poor level of education. Once admitted, however, education would have been given more consistently to children in industrial schools than to those who remained outside. The

residential nature of the schools meant that the truancy, common in elementary schools, was impossible.

Industrial schoolchildren learnt trade skills they would not otherwise have done had they remained uncommitted, unless it was the occupation in which their family was involved. Trade training developed from the original ragged school skills of sewing and shoe repairing to include woodwork and later metalwork, farming, printing as well as a range of other skills considered suitable by the managers for boys. Many schools had bands and for a number of boys this led to an opening in the services. As far as girls were concerned the most popular occupation was domestic work, for it was thought that life as a domestic servant, including residential accommodation, would be the best option for girls. The skills learnt in the schools would also be useful when they married and had homes to run.

Health care was not likely to have been something that children of the poorer classes would have experienced. Industrial school children on admission were likely to be undernourished and less physically fit than other children and therefore many of the activities undertaken were intended to improve their physique. Once admitted the children's physical condition was assessed and subsequently their daily health care was left largely in the hands of the matron. Food was basic but meals were regular and adequate, which would probably not have been the case had the children remained outside. Many schools in addition to appointing doctors had dentists and in some cases opticians, who visited on a regular basis. The children's health would almost invariably have improved by the time they left the schools.

Under the industrial school legislation, schools were responsible for their children for a time after they had left. This aftercare consisted of finding and monitoring appropriate employment, periodic visiting and some financial incentives to ensure the children kept out of trouble. This was done through staggering any cash payments as a reward for a period of good behaviour. The schools had to report to the Home Office on the welfare of those who had left. They took this part of their work seriously and many schools encouraged their children to return for open days and special events, sent out newsletters and corresponded with old boys and girls, supplying support when difficulties arose in the lives of their former inmates. In other schools contact was minimal and only that required by the Home Office to qualify for a grant.

Whether or not industrial schools were successful needs to be assessed from several points of view: first from that of the Government and other bodies, then that of the founders and lastly from the children themselves. It is also clear that what could be considered as success by the different parties could be very different. The Government, local magistrates and education authorities wanted to solve society's

immediate problems of street children and delinquency. The more altruistic of the founders were more concerned with the welfare of the children and, like the Government, wanted to turn them away from crime and into useful citizens. For many of the children the immediate problem was to find food and clothing in the short term, and training so that they could become self-supporting in the longer term. The real question of whether industrial schools were successful for the children involved was whether or not it changed their lives for the better.

For the children, life in an industrial school was likely to be a shock, which could be both good and bad. They had previously been used to a free, unrestrained existence. They would have had little or no schooling, no training and little or no moral guidance. For many, meals had been irregular and not guaranteed, scavenging and scrounging food was part of everyday life. Such an existence would have left them vulnerable to criminal activities. Industrial schools provided a roof over the children's heads, regular meals, clothing and medical care. Even in the worst schools the children received some basic training and education in addition to moral and religious instruction. The better schools acted as a substitute home and family, where care and concern was shown and a fair education given. The children's backgrounds could make them rebellious and resistant to authority and for those who were not prepared to conform, life could be particularly difficult and confrontational. For those who were prepared to accept authority, at the very least the schools provided a regularity and system to the day they would have not otherwise experienced, which could prove useful particularly for those entering the services.

For many children the reason that they had been committed to the schools was a lack of adequate care by their families. Had they not been sent, there is no reason to believe that the lack of care would have in any way been remedied. The lifestyle that the children were leading could well have led towards serious criminal activities and a degeneration that was interrupted by their removal from their environment. However, for those children who were unused to street life, the mixing of children from all backgrounds left them open to bullying and an introduction to criminal ideas they had not previously encountered.

Industrial schools were designed to cater for the destitute and vulnerable and to complement the work of the reformatory schools designed for criminal children. These differences were accepted by the founders and by the Government, but were not always generally understood. When in 1896 the initial period of imprisonment was stopped for reformatory school children, assertions increased that there was little difference between reformatory and industrial schools other than the age of the children and the consequent differences this made to the running of the schools. Despite this, for those involved in the work of the industrial school movement there

was a palpable difference and it was that difference that had drawn them to the schools.

J.A. Stack identified a contrast in attitudes towards destitute and delinquent children in the people involved in the work. Stack's theory helps us to understand one of the reasons behind the different outcomes that occurred for the children the schools served, the aims and ideals of the founders and managers. Writers such as Hurt and Humphries, who did not make any distinction between the two schools, missed an important characteristic. Any conclusion they drew must be limited by this omission. It is clear that there was a material difference, the most important one being that the likely outcome for the children leaving industrial schools was much better than for those leaving reformatory schools and the children were more inclined to find better employment and lead more successful lives.

Industrial schools had the potential to change the direction of the lives of vulnerable children for the better. At the same time the children in poorly supervised schools, could be open to harsh and over-zealous treatment without an effective means of rectification. There was a great degree of variation in the standards of schools, both from place to place and from time to time, but which of these two extremes best described a school was dependent on the quality and ideals of its managers and staff.

As far as the various concepts of industrial schools, described at the beginning of this chapter, are concerned the conclusion that has been reached is as follows. Behlmer maintained that industrial schools 'failed to reach their goal' because of 'judicial sabotage'. He based his view of the lack of co-operation of magistrates when parents requested the admission of their own children because they were out of control. Admissions on these grounds were very few in number but this was just one of a number of grounds for admission and for the majority of the time that the schools ran there was no shortage of children needing admission. For those children who were taken in industrial schools could be, and often were, places in which children could be taught high standards of behaviour and the 'moral hospitals' that May believed they were. They certainly had a disciplined and rigid routine of which hard work formed an important part but whether this routine was as 'oppressive', the punishment as 'severe' and the living conditions as 'austere' as described by Hurt, is more open to question. Each school needs to be assessed individually and if making an overall judgement Black's conclusion that 'the industrial school may not have been the ideal solution but it was better than the alternatives offered in its day' is more apt.

Notes

¹ See Chapter I p. 21

² Report of the Departmental Committee into Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 XLV (8204) p. 43

³ First Report of the Work of the Children's Branch pp. 104-5

⁴ Michelle Cale, 'Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger' *History* 78 1993 p. 201

⁵ Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools - PP 1896 XLV (8204) para. 17 p. 15

⁶ Michelle Cale, 'Girls and the Perception of Sexual Danger' *History* 78 1993 p. 201

⁷ J.E. Stack, 'Interests and Ideas in 19th Century Social Policy, the mid-Victorian Reformatory School' *Journal of Educational Administration & History* 1994 vol. 23 no. 1 pp. 36-45

APPENDIX A

LIST OF INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS CERTIFIED

UNDER 20 AND 21 VICTORIA C 4823

1. 18.6.1858 York Industrial Ragged School - Revd W.A. Wightman, York
 2. 18.6.1858 Hackney Trewint Ind. School - Miss Robarts of Barnet
 3. 26.6.1858 Euston Road Boys Home - George Bell, 44 Euston Rd
 4. 18.12.1858 North West London Ind. - Geo. Joseph Bowyer, 237 Euston Rd
 5. 23.3.1859 Hill Street Dorset Square Female Refuge - Mrs Caroline Blunt, 12 Upper Street, Gros.
 6. 23.3.1859 Camden Town Family Home - Daniel Cooper, 11 Poultry
 7. 4.4.1859 Chelsea Sloane Street Home - Mrs Barney, 22 Denbigh Place S.W
 8. 6.4.1859 Manchester Ardwick Green - Revd J.F. Bryan
 9. 9.4.1859 Liverpool Everton Crescent (St. George's Lace School) Revd Thomas Cookson
 10. 9.4.1859 Paddington Girls Home - Charles Gwillim, Esq., 1 Gros Cres
 11. 18.4.1859 Lisson Street Trg Refuge - Wm James Maxwell, 9 Wimpole St
 12. 7.5.1859 - Bristol Pennywell Lane Ind. School - Robt J. Ramsden, 4 Victoria Square
 13. 3.6.1859 - Newcastle Upon Tyne Ragged - Ind. C.F. Hammond
 14. 10.6.1859 - Bristol Park Row Ind. - Miss Carpenter
 15. 16.6.1859 - Liverpool Soho Street. St Elizabeth RC Ref. - Revd Kenrick
 15. 1.7.1859 East London Shoe Black's Soc. Revd Samuel Wise
 16. 9.7.1859 - Chelsea School of Discipline - Mrs Shaw, 13 Cambridge Square
(NB Certificate granted 13.4.1858 to Sutcliffe IS has since been withdrawn.)
-
1. St Nicholas Industrial School, Essex, Churnhall [Shernhall] Street, Walthamstow RC
 2. Havannah, School Ship, Glamorgan, Protestant. Cardiff
 3. Liverpool Ind Schools, Soho Street, Protestant;
 4. Kirkdale Ind Schools, Stanley Road, Protestant;
 5. St George's Ind School West Derby Road, Liverpool RC
 6. St Margarets, Middx, Queen Square Bloomsbury RC
 7. Coventry Industrial Home, Warwick - Protestant

APPENDIX B**CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF KEY EVENTS**

1816 Committee for Investigating the Causes of the Alarming Increase in Juvenile Delinquency in the Metropolis.

1838 Parkhurst Act

1851 First Birmingham conference

1852/3 Report of the Special Committee on Criminal and Destitute Children

1853 Second Birmingham conference

1854 Middlesex Industrial Schools Act

1854 Reformatory Schools Act

1857 Industrial Schools Act

1860 Industrial Schools Amendment Act

1861 Industrial Schools Amendment Act

1860 Industrial Schools Amendment Act

1866 Industrial Schools Amendment Act

1870 Elementary Education Act

1871 Crime Prevention Act

1876 Elementary Education Act

1880 Industrial Schools Amendment Act

1884 Royal Commission into Reformatory and Industrial Schools

1896 Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools

1908 The Children's Act

1918 The Education Act

1927 Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders

1933 Approved School Act

(See bibliography for details of legislation and reports.)

APPENDIX C

EXTRACT
 MADE DECEMBER 31ST. 1876,
 FROM THE
RULES FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF
 THE
BOYS' FARM HOME,
 CHURCH FARM. EAST BARNET, HERTS.
(Certified under the Industrial Schools Act.)

Rule 1. This Institution, hitherto called THE BOYS' HOME, shall henceforth be called THE BOYS' FARM HOME, and shall be governed by a Committee, consisting of the Treasurer and other Members, residing either in London or in East Barnet or its neighbourhood.

Rule 3. This Institution shall receive boys of from six to sixteen years of age, from any part of England, provided they have not been convicted of crime. They shall be clothed, fed, lodged, and instructed in reading, writing, arithmetic, and the Holy Scriptures, as well as in some branch of industry. All the boys admitted to this Institution shall be brought up in the principles of the Church of England.

Rule 4. The cases received shall be in part Act-cases,—that is to say, such as are sent with a Magistrate's order under the Industrial Schools Act; and in part voluntary cases,—that is, such as are provided for out of the funds voluntarily subscribed by the public.

Rule 7. The medical officer shall continue to visit the School periodically, and in case of illness, as often as occasion may require. In case of the serious illness of any boy, his friends shall be informed.

(Taken from the Boys' Farm Home Annual Report 1876 p.6)

APPENDIX D

STAFF REGULATIONS

Boys' Farm Home, Church Farm

The Master

1. The Master at the Boys' Home at East Barnet is engaged to give his whole time to the Institution, whose interests it is expected he will, in every way, endeavour to promote. He is especially to attend to the religious, the moral, the physical and the intellectual training of the boys committed to his care.

2. He is to understand that all Rules of Management emanate from or are sanctioned by the Committee, and that the general system at Church Farm is the same of the Parent Home in London.

3. As assistance is given in the school by a qualified assistant master, the Master is expected to have time to keep the accounts of the Institution, and to undertake such correspondence as may be necessary, besides exercising a continual care over the general working of the Institution and over all that affects the moral welfare of the boys.

The accounts are to be kept in the form directed by the Committee. The Master must give great attention to the financial economy of the Institution. All orders and receipts should be signed by him.

4. The Master will also receive any visitors and show them the Farm, the School and the houses.

5. All persons employed on the establishment are responsible to the Master for their conduct and discipline. He is competent to treat the Labour Master, the Matron and all other assistants with thorough respect in their own departments, and to endeavour at all times to keep a spirit of courtesy and good-will by encouraging them in their work, by never unnecessarily interfering with them in the performance of their special duties. If it appears necessary to find fault with any of them, he is expected to do so quietly and in private, so that it may be unknown to the boys. In serious delinquency the Master is empowered to suspend them or any person employed in the Home or on the Farm, and forthwith to report the circumstances to the Honorary Secretary. (Honorary Superintendent - cross through).

6. In all difficulties the Master is directed to consult the Honorary Superintendent by whom also he is to be advised and guided in the entire conduct and management of the Institution.

The Master is to be ready to produce his account books and vouchers for inspection by the Treasurer or any member of the Committee, whenever he may require it. Likewise the School attendance book and any other MS Book concerning the Farm School.

7. The Master will receive his salary monthly from the Treasurer. His salary is £140 (£80 crossed through) per annum and he is allowed three rooms in the farmhouse, (besides the use of the parlour or office) with gas, fuel and garden.

8. The Master's daily routine includes the following duties: to rouse the boys who sleep in the farmhouse at the hour fixed in the timetable, and to see that they leave their bedrooms in a proper state, according to the prescribed rules. To give employment in school to any boys who are not necessarily otherwise occupied before breakfast. To read morning and evening prayers at the farm-house before the boys and any other members of the Establishment who may be able to be present, and to arrange between the Labour Master and the Matron what boys are to be retained for the indoors work. To receive the memoranda of the Matron and the Labour Master and to sign and send out orders for such articles as are required for the daily maintenance of the Establishment, taking care at the same time to ascertain that rigid economy is practised; to enter in his accounts a charge against the Institution for the daily consumption of milk, butter, vegetables or any other produce of the farm; to preside over the boys; meals in the farmhouse and to see that they receive their schooling at the prescribed hours. He must also see that each boy washes himself thoroughly from head to foot once a week, and that he gives himself daily such washing as may be fit and proper, at such times as the Master and Matron may arrange. The boys are to learn to keep themselves scrupulously clean and as neat as the nature of their employment allows.

9. On Sunday it will generally be requisite that the Master shall take his hour of accompanying the boys to the Parish Church at 11 a.m. or 3 p.m. Before morning Church, the boys are to have some religious instruction. There are voluntary teachers in the afternoon Sunday school and the arrangements are varied from time to time as may be convenient. The Master's position is that of a Father of a family anxiously watching over the boys entrusted to him. He must endeavour to make the Sunday a happy day by such reading as may be attractive and interesting.

10. In case of serious illness, the Master is to send a note as soon as possible to the Medical Officer.

11. The Master must not absent himself from the Home during the evening or night without special permission from the Honorary Secretary (Superintendent crossed through) and he must arrange that, during the day-time the Labour Master, the Assistant Master and himself are never all absent from the Institution at the same time. He must not sanction any person not of the Establishment sleeping at Church Farm, unless by special permission of the Honorary Secretary (Superintendent crossed through).

5. The Assistant Master is to preside over the meals of the Boys who live in the New House, and to superintend their washing etc. in the same manner as the Master does for the boys in the farmhouse. The boys who sleep at the Cottage will live along with the New House boys.

6. The Assistant Master is engaged or dismissed by the Superintendent with the approval of the Committee.

7. Cases of misconduct are to be reported by the Assistant Master to the Head Master and no punishment to be inflicted without the previous sanction of the Head Master.

The Labour Master

1. The Labour Master is allowed three rooms in the cottage at Church Farm, East Barnet, and a small piece of garden ground. His wages are £1 per week, and will be paid weekly by the Master of the Home.

2. He is never to be absent himself from Church Farm without the knowledge and consent of the Master of the Home.

3. The Labour Master is to rouse the boys who sleep in the cottage, at the proper hour in the morning and to see that they go straight to their lavatory, leaving their room in the state required by their rules. His special duties during the day include the charge of the cows, pigs, and other animals kept on the farm, and the care of the farm buildings and agricultural implements, and he is to instruct the boys in every branch of the working of the farm and garden. He is to consider himself responsible to the Master of the Home for the proper conduct and work of the boys while under his charge. The moral and religious training of the boys depends greatly on the good management and judicious conduct of the Labour Master; he is expected to take care never to allow the least bad behaviour or bad language to pass unnoticed - If any boy in his employment is idle, he is to report him to the Master of the Home at the ensuing meal; if any boys is obstinate, idle or insubordinate, or quarrelsome, he is to be immediately taken to the Master of the Home, and reported accordingly. The Labour Master is not to take upon himself to inflict any punishment without the knowledge and consent of the Master of the Home.

4. The Labour Master must remember that the pecuniary success of the Institution depends in a great measure on the practice of a very strict economy. Any mischief done by the boys, either through carelessness or wilfulness should be immediately reported to the Master; and the Labour Master must endeavour to teach them, by his own example not to waste any of the materials, nor injure any of the tools, which they use.

5. The Labour master is at all times to adhere to the orders of the Master, respecting the boys. The Master, on his part, will always give the Labour Master his friendly and active help.

6. The Committee expect the Labour Master and every other person employed at Church Farm to exert themselves to the best of their ability and to interest themselves in the welfare and success of the Institution.
7. The Labour Master is engaged and dismissed by the Secretary (Superintendent crossed through) with the approval of the Committee.

APPENDIX E**MANAGEMENT RULES**

Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal vol IX 1885-87 p.6

1. Lodgings - the children lodged in the school shall have separate beds. If any are lodged out under Section 26 of the IS Act, notice of each case shall thereon be sent to the Office of the Inspector of IS
2. Clothing - The children shall be supplied with plain useful clothing, not necessarily uniform either in material or colour.
3. Dietary - The children shall be supplied with plain wholesome food, according to a dietary to be approved by the inspector.
4. Instruction - The secular instruction shall consist of reading, spelling, writing and ciphering and as far as practicable, the elements of history, geography, social economy and drawing. It shall be given for three hours daily. The religious instruction shall be in accordance with the religious denomination of the school and shall be given daily. The industrial education shall be in farm and garden work and any common handicraft. The children shall be employed for not less than six hours daily. In training school ships, the boys shall be instructed in naval exercises and employments and elements of navigation.
5. Religious exercises and worship. - Each day shall be begun and ended with simple family worship, to be prescribed by the rules. On Sunday the children shall attend public worship, at some convenient church or chapel. In the case of any child being admitted who is specified in the Order of Detention as of some other religious persuasion than the Church of England, a Minister of such religious persuasion shall be allowed to visit such child, and the child shall not be required to learn the Catechism of the Church of England. (This condition is modified according to the religious denomination of the school.
6. Time-table A time table showing the hours of work, school instruction, meals etc. as approved by the inspector shall be fixed in the school room.
7. Discipline The master shall be authorised to punish the Boys detained in the school in case of misconduct; all faults and punishments being entered in a book kept for that purpose, to be laid before the Committee at their meetings.
8. Punishment - Punishments may consist of forfeiture of rewards and privileges, reduction in quantity or quality of food, confinement in a room or lighted cell, but not more than three days, and moderate personal correction. But no child shall be deprived of more than two meals in succession. And any child in confinement shall be allowed not less than 1 lb of bread and gruel, or milk and water daily. (No modes

APPENDIX E

MANAGEMENT RULES

Reformatory and Refuge Union Journal vol IX 1885-87 p.6

1. Lodgings - the children lodged in the school shall have separate beds. If any are lodged out under Section 26 of the IS Act, notice of each case shall thereon be sent to the Office of the Inspector of IS
2. Clothing - The children shall be supplied with plain useful clothing, not necessarily uniform either in material or colour.
3. Dietary - The children shall be supplied with plain wholesome food, according to a dietary to be approved by the inspector.
4. Instruction - The secular instruction shall consist of reading, spelling, writing and ciphering and as far as practicable, the elements of history, geography, social economy and drawing. It shall be given for three hours daily. The religious instruction shall be in accordance with the religious denomination of the school and shall be given daily. The industrial education shall be in farm and garden work and any common handicraft. The children shall be employed for not less than six hours daily. In training school ships, the boys shall be instructed in naval exercises and employments and elements of navigation.
5. Religious exercises and worship. - Each day shall be begun and ended with simple family worship, to be prescribed by the rules. On Sunday the children shall attend public worship, at some convenient church or chapel. In the case of any child being admitted who is specified in the Order of Detention as of some other religious persuasion than the Church of England, a Minister of such religious persuasion shall be allowed to visit such child, and the child shall not be required to learn the Catechism of the Church of England. (This condition is modified according to the religious denomination of the school.
6. Time-table A time table showing the hours of work, school instruction, meals etc. as approved by the inspector shall be fixed in the school room.
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8. Punishment - Punishments may consist of forfeiture of rewards and privileges, reduction in quantity or quality of food, confinement in a room or lighted cell, but not more than three days, and moderate personal correction. But no child shall be deprived of more than two meals in succession. And any child in confinement shall be allowed not less than 1 lb of bread and gruel, or milk and water daily. (No modes

or method of correction different from the above may be resorted to unless specified in the Rules sanctioned by the Secretary of State.)

9. The children shall be allowed two hours daily for recreation and exercise and shall be occasionally taken out for exercise beyond the boundaries of the school.

10. Visits of Friends - The parents or other relations of the children shall be allowed to correspond with them at reasonable times, and to visit them once in two or three months, such privileges to be forfeited by misconduct or interference with the discipline of the school.

11. Provision on discharge - on the discharge of any child from the school he shall be provided with a sufficient outfit, according to the Circumstances of the discharge, and shall be apprenticed or placed out as far as practicable, in some employment or service. If returned to relatives or friends the expenses of such return shall be defrayed.

12. Visitors - The School shall be open to the inspection of visitors at convenient times to be regulated by the Committee (or Managers).

13. Journals etc. The Master shall keep a journal of all that passes in the respective departments of the school. All admissions, licenses, discharges, desertions, and other offences and all punishments shall be recorded in it. The Journal shall be laid before the Committee (or Managers) at their meetings and the Inspector on his visits.

14. Medical Officer - A medical officer shall be appointed to visit the school. He shall enter his visit in a book kept for the purpose, with a note of all serious cases of illness attended by him in the school and of the treatment prescribed. In the case of serious illness of a child immediate notice shall be given to the parents.

15. Inquest in the case of the sudden or violent death of any inmate of the school an inquest shall be held and the circumstances of the case immediately reported to the inspector.

16. Inspector In case of any child's deserting from the school or being placed out on license, or dying while an inmate of the school or on license from it or being committed to a Reformatory School immediate notice shall be given to the inspector. The children shall be examined and their proficiency in school instruction and industrial training tested from time to time by the inspector. All books and journals of the school shall be open to the inspector for examination. Any teacher employed for the instruction of the children shall be examined by him if he think it necessary. Previous notice shall be given of the appointment or discharge of the Master and Schoolmaster.

17. Returns The Master (or secretary) shall keep a register of admissions and discharges, with particulars of the parentage, previous circumstances etc. of each

child admitted and of the disposal of each child discharged and shall regularly send to the Office of the Inspector the returns and quarterly accounts required and in January of each year, a full statement of receipts and expenditure of the school for the past year, showing all debts and liabilities and duly vouched by a Committee (or Managers.)

18. General Regulations the officers and teachers of the school shall be required to maintain the discipline and order of the school and attend to the instruction and training of the children in conformity with the above regulations. The children shall be required to obey the officers and teachers of the school and to comply with its regulations; and any wilful neglect or refusal to obey or comply on the part of any child admitted under the provision of the Industrial Schools Act shall be deemed to be an offence under the 32nd Section of the Act.

APPENDIX F**LIST OF TRADES TAUGHT IN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS**

Basket-making,
Baking,
Bandsmandship
Bee keeping
Bricklaying,
Brush making,
Brick and tile making
Carpentry
Cooking,
Domestic work
Dressmaking
Farmwork
Gardening
Housework
Laundry-work
Lead-light making
Metalwork
Nautical training
Oakum-picking
Printing,
Plumbing,
Sewing
Shoemaking
Tailoring
Wood-chopping

(Taken from the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools 1913)

APPENDIX G**LIST OF SUBJECTS TAUGHT IN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS**

Arithmetic,
Biology
Botany
Composition,
Drawing
English grammar
Geography
History.
Hygiene
Mental arithmetic,
Music
Object lessons,
Physiology
Principles of agriculture
Recitation,
Reading,
Rural science
Singing;
Spelling
Writing.

(Taken from the annual reports and timetables of industrial schools.)

APPENDIX H

MIDDLESEX INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, FELTHAM.

DIETARY TABLE.

	At 8 a.m.	1 oz. Biscuit at 8.15	DINNER at 1.15 p.m.																												Total Cups	Total Bread
			Week A														Week B															
			Biscuit							Roast Beef or Mutton							Boiled Pork or Beef							Meat Pie								
			oz.	pint.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pint.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.		
Sunday	2	6	3	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	3	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	8		
Monday	2	6	3	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	3	..	12	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8		
Tuesday	2	6	3	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	3	..	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	8		
Wednesday	2	6	3	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	8	3	..	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	8	2	8		
Thursday	2	6	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	8	8		
Friday	2	6	3	..	..	..	..	10	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	8	..	..	..	..	8	2	8	8		
Saturday	2	6	3	..	..	..	..	..	14	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	8	..	..	8	2	8	8		

8 a.m. 2 oz. Biscuit issued on mornings on which the Boys have work and school before Breakfast.

BREAKFAST. 1 oz. Oatmeal, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Sugar, $\frac{1}{8}$ pint Milk, to $\frac{1}{2}$ pint Porridge.

DINNER. Roast Pork to be occasionally substituted for Roast Beef or Mutton.
Boiled Pork to be occasionally substituted for Boiled Beef or Mutton.
5 oz. Flour, 1 oz. Suet, mixed with water, per 8 oz. Boiled or Baked Pudding.
A small quantity of Flour, Dripping, and Pepper, to be used with Fried Fish.
4 oz. Fresh Meat, 3 oz. Flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Dripping, per 8 oz. Meat Pie, with Pepper.
2 oz. Bacon, 4 oz. Split Peas, Vegetables, Stock Liquor, Herbs, Salt, Pepper, per pint of Pea Soup.
4 oz. Preserved Meat, Vegetables, Barley, &c., per pint Irish Stew.
1 oz. Preserved Meat, 4 oz. Flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Suet, 6 oz. Vegetables, Herbs, Pepper, and Salt, per 14 oz. Sea Pie.
A small quantity of Vinegar and Pepper issued with Cabbage.
4 oz. Preserved Meat, 3 oz. Flour, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Dripping, per 8 oz. Pie, with Onion, Herbs, and Pepper.

SUPPER. $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Cocoa, $\frac{1}{2}$ oz. Sugar, $\frac{1}{8}$ pint of Milk, per $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of Cocoa.

10th February, 1870.

(Taken from G.A.T. Lee, *The Feltham Industrial School Appendix B*)

THE BOYS' FARM HOME

	BREAKFAST.	DINNER	SUPPER
SUNDAY	Bread 1 pint of (off or on) Cocoa 1 oz. Butter	1 lb. Bread 1 lb. Meat Vegetables Pudding	Bread 1 oz. Treacle 1 pint Tea
MONDAY	Bread 1 pint Skim Milk or 1 pint Cocoa	6 oz. Bread 1 lb. Pudding	Bread 1 oz. Treacle 1 pint Tea
TUESDAY	Bread 1 pint Skim Milk or 1 pint Cocoa	1 lb. Bread 1 lb. Meat Vegetables	Bread 1 oz. Butter or Drippings 1 pint Tea
WEDNESDAY .	Bread 1 pint Skim Milk or 1 pint Cocoa	1 lb. Bread 1 lb. Meat Vegetables	Bread 1 oz. Butter or Drippings 1 pint Tea
THURSDAY ..	Bread 1 pint Skim Milk or 1 pint Cocoa	1 lb. Bread 1 lb. Meat Vegetables	Bread 1 oz. Butter or Drippings 1 pint Tea
FRIDAY	Bread 1 pint Skim Milk or 1 pint Cocoa	1 lb. Bread 1 lb. Meat Vegetables	Bread Butter or Treacle 1 pint Tea
SATURDAY ..	Bread 1 pint Skim Milk or 1 pint Cocoa	6 oz. Bread 1 pint of Soup	Bread Butter or Treacle 1 pint Tea

TIME TABLE.

A.M.	P.M.
5.30. Rise.	1. Dinner—clear away, and play till 2.
6. School† except for the boys employed about the cows and pigs, or engaged in carrying out milk for sale.	2 to 4. Work in house and farm.
8. Prayers—Breakfast—clear away and play till 9.	4.15. Wash and come to school.
9 to 10. Work in house and farm.	6. Supper—clear away and play.
10 to 1. School for milk-boys, house-boys, and cow-house boys.† the rest continue at trade or farm-work. Wash and prepare for dinner.	7.40. Prayers, and the little boys go to bed.
	8.30. Elder boys go to bed.

In the evening exercises, books, dialog, letter-writing, singing, and practice.

Saturday—Half-Holiday and no school

Sunday—Class for an hour in the morning and at half past four in the afternoon.
Church once a day. A church school in the Sabbath school at 7 1/2 a.m.

[illegible]

APPENDIX J

DIETARY TABLE

ADEL REFORMATORY SCHOOL, LEEDS

LEEDS REFORMATORY DIET TABLE.

DAYS.	BREAKFAST.	DINNER	TEA
Sunday	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee	5 ounces of Meat, 4 ounces of Bread, Potatoes <i>ad lib.</i>	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 ounce of Butter, 1 pint of Tea
Monday	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee	1 pound of Suet Pudding with Treacle	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee
Tuesday	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee	Meat and Potato Pie <i>ad lib.</i>	Pudding with Milk on Treacle <i>ad lib.</i>
Wednesday	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee	6 ounces of Bread, 2 ounces of Meat, 1 pint of Pea Soup	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee
Thursday	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee	12 pounds of Suet Pudding with Treacle	Pudding with Milk on Treacle <i>ad lib.</i>
Friday	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee	6 ounces of Bread, 2 ounces of Meat, 1 pint of Pea Soup	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee
Saturday	{ 10 ounces of Bread, 1 pint of Coffee	10 ounces of Bread, 2 ounces of Cheese, 1 pint of Coffee	Pudding with Milk on Treacle <i>ad lib.</i>

(Taken from the Annual Report of the Leeds Reformatory School)

APPENDIX K

SHIBDEN (CERTIFIED INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL)—DIETARY TABLE UNDER THE LATE MANAGEMENT

Day of Week	CLASS.	BREAKFAST					SUPPER					DINNER														
		Bread.	Oatmeal	Milk	Coffee	Cocoa	Sugar	Bread	Tea	Cocoa	Sugar	Milk	Bread	Fresh Meat	Potatoes	Preserved Meat	Barley	Peas	Bacon	Eggs	Cheese	Sugar	Milk	Tea	Currants	
		oz.	oz.	pts.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pts.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pts.	oz.	oz.			
SUNDAY	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	4	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Vegetables in suitable quantity— Meat roasted or boiled	
	2	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	4	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
MONDAY	1	5	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	4	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Vegetables in suitable quantity Soup dinner	
	2	4	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
TUESDAY	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	4	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	If Stew be made 14 oz. Potatoes each, and 14 oz. Meat dumplings and one third	
	2	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	4	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
WEDNESDAY	1	5	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	4	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Or Suet (12 oz. Flour 14 oz. Suet Padding 10 oz. Flour 14 oz. Suet with Sugar Treacle Fruit, or Sauce	
	2	4	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
THURSDAY	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	4	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	If Fish be given the allowance of Bread will be 3 oz. and 14 oz., and no Tea.	
	2	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	4	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
FRIDAY	1	5	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	4	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Pea-soup dinner Vegetables in suitable quantity	
	2	4	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	6	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		
SATURDAY	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	1	1	1	1	8	4	10	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	Pea-soup dinner Vegetables in suitable quantity	
	2	6	1	1	1	1	6	1	1	1	1	4	4	8	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		

1. When Milk cannot be had, as required for Porridge Treacle may be used in bread, 1 oz. to each boy
2. Other Vegetables sometimes used instead of Potatoes or if necessary, an extra quantity of Bread
3. If Ox heads be used for Soup, one head weighing about 10 lbs. will be used for every 50 rations
4. On Abstinence days the diet will be similar to that for Wednesdays or Fridays.
5. The 1st class boys are 15 years of age and the 2nd class those under 15 years of age

SHIBDEN INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL.

DIETARY TABLE UNDER REV. FATHER DOWNES' MANAGEMENT.

DAY	BREAKFAST.	DINNER.	SUPPER.
SUNDAY	7, 8, and 9 oz. of Bread. 1 oz. Dripping. 1 pint of Coffee and Milk.	4 oz. of Roast Beef, with Potatoes and Cab- bage or Peas. 6 oz. of Bread.	7, 8, and 9 oz. of Bread and Butter. 1 pint of Tea with Milk.
MONDAY	Oatmeal Porridge 1 pint of Milk. 4 oz. of Bread.	1 pint of Thick Green Pea soup, with 3 oz. of Meat. 6 oz. of Bread each.	1 pint of Coffee and Milk. 7, 8 and 9 oz. of Bread, with Treacle
TUESDAY	7, 8, and 9 oz. of Bread. 1 pint of Coffee and Milk.	1 pint Vegetable Hash, with Meat (3 oz. each). 6 oz. of Bread.	7, 8 and 9 oz. of Bread. 1 pint of Tea, with Milk
WEDNESDAY	Oatmeal Porridge. 1 pint of Milk. 4 oz. of Bread.	10 oz. Potatoes with Liver and Bacon and Onions, or with Preserved Meat. 6 oz. of Bread.	7, 8, and 9 oz. of Bread and Dripping. 1 pint of Coffee and Milk.
THURSDAY	7, 8 and 9 oz. of Bread and Dripping 1 pint of Coffee and Milk.	1 pint of Ox head soup, with Potatoes and 3 oz. Meat each. 6 oz. of Bread.	7, 8, and 9 oz. of Bread and Treacle. 1 pint Tea and Milk.
FRIDAY	7, 8 and 9 oz. of Bread 1 pint of Coffee and Milk.	14 oz. Rice, sweetened with Sugar and Cur- rants. 6 oz. of Milk. 6 oz. of Bread.	7, 8, and 9 oz. of Bread and Treacle 1 pint Tea and Milk
SATURDAY	1 pint of Rice-milk 1 oz. of Bread.	7, 8, and 9 oz. of Bread, with Cheese or Butter. 1 pint of Coffee and Milk.	7, 8 and 9 oz. of Bread 1 pint Tea, with Milk.

When in Season, Lettuce, Radishes, &c., can be added occasionally at Supper.

(Taken from the Report of the Leeds School Board)

APPENDIX L

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION

GIVEN TO BOYS IN THE ESSEX INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL

1. READING FROM OLD TESTAMENT NARRATIVE

(a) Principal events recorded, as The Creation, Fall of Man, Deluge, etc., drawing from the boys or telling them the cause, and effect of the different circumstances, pointing to God's wisdom, etc., and our innate sin. In any question differently interpreted by different denominations of Christians, which does not often occur in Old Testament History, as taught in school, the broad explanation, in which all would agree, would be given, the different opinions, being left, for the boys to take up for themselves, after leaving the school. On some points. I reserve my opinion, even when questioned by the boys privately. Among the numerous lessons drawn from the events recorded in the Old Testament, I should give, for example, the certain punishment of sin, deducing from many instances, the reward of virtue, value of prayer &c., &c.

(b) Biography of Old Testament Characters. After reading, say the life of a Patriarch. drawing out the good, and bad points in his given actions, the virtues would be held up as examples to be followed and the vices to be shunned, always taking care to describe the unworthiness of man without God's help and his ready fall into sin if left to himself; then showing God's Mercy, Loving-kindness, Justice, Slowness to Anger, Omnipresence, &c.

(c) God's Messages - (The Prophets) and the Poetical Books of the Bible.

Should read the solemn warnings, &c., and show, that God is the same yesterday, to-day, &c., and apply the warnings to us.

II. - NEW TESTAMENT HISTORY.

(a) Life of Christ. His great example, Prophecies referring to Him, His human nature, Temptation, &c., Mission, Miracles, Parables, (explanation after Model in Matt. xiii.) Discourses. &c. from each passage drawing lessons for our daily life, and enlarging upon the various sins, &c., as they were presented, in the narratives. Especially the cause of our Saviour's visit to the world, His sufferings, death, atonement for sin, resurrection, His love.

(b) Acts of Apostles. The rise of the Church, progress, &c.

(c) Readings from the Epistles.

III. - GENERAL INSTRUCTION.

It is my aim to draw from the lessons read, and the instruction given, the dreadful consequences of unrepented sins, especially those sins which are so

common among some boys. Also to show from some source, the inutility of resolutions to amend, unless God's help be invoked and obtained.

'The very great value of prayer.

The necessity of watchfulness and prayer.

The different forms of temptation.

The great Love of God, and to urge upon the boys a love of the Word of God, and the looking for all good to God, &c., &c.

THE POINTS OF DOCTRINE.

The boys are taught to believe in the Resurrection, Atonement, Redemption through the blood of our Saviour, everlasting life, and death, but as regards such points, as whether such a point of ritual be necessary or advisable, or another; and the various differences existing among the different denominations of Christians, the inculcating them, I should leave to their spiritual guide, later in life.

The boys are taught the duty we owe to God, and our neighbour as set forth in the Decalogue

EXAMPLE

NOTES OF A LESSON.

Psalm cxxxix.

(a) Read passage to boys, explaining hard words, &c.

Analysis. 1. Omnipresence and Omnipresence of God.

2. Praise to God for His Wisdom in Creation.

3. Praise for God's care.

4. Defiance of the wicked.

5. Sincere prayer for integrity.

1 Vers. 1-13. Draw the fact from the boys that they eye of God is always on us. Texts bearing on fact told to, or drawn from the boys. Contrast David's spirit, with Jonah's, whose fears led him for a time to limit God's power. Explain seeming contradiction 'God is not in the thoughts of the wicked, &c' Lessons. God's care of us all, protection. 'Not a sparrow, &c.' 'The eye of the Lord is in every place,' &c. Every wicked deed, &c. committed in secret will be revealed. Illustrate by anecdote. Draw other lessons from boys. Recapitulate.

Note (v.6.) Requires special attention as it affords an instance of God's revelation to man. Show difference between the knowledge of a wise man and a child, then the great wisdom of God, and that He does not reveal all His mysteries.

The above section of the Psalm would give ample field for a long lesson. The other parts would be treated in the same manner.

S. COLLINS, Schoolmaster.

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2.4 Hansard

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Davies, Gwilym, 'The Industrial School-boy on Welsh Farms' (WI 331.3)

1.12 Essex County Record Office

Correspondence on Industrial Schools (D/AEM)

Essex Quarter Sessions, (QSP/b)

Process Books 1800-47

Greenwood Industrial School for Girls (T/P 139)

Miscellaneous papers and photographs 1866-1921

Essex Industrial School (D/Q 40/1-153)

Admission register 1872-83

Discharge Register

Visitors book

Plans and elevations

Accounts

Annual reports

Photographs

Papers relating to Essex Industrial School and Home for Destitute Boys (Q.Spb 26)

Reports, correspondence (Q/AGp 1-21)

Gaols and Houses of Correction 1800-60

Reformatory Schools, (Q/AGp 22)

Agreement with Managers

Summary Convictions of Juvenile Offenders 1847-80 (Q/RSc6)

1.13 Essex County Library

The Essex Industrial School and Home for Destitute Boys

Annual Reports 42nd 31.12.1913, 44th 31.1.1916,

46th 31.3.1918, 59th 31.1.1922

Essex Industrial School Quarterly Review 1903-15

1.14 The Guildhall Library

Bell, G.W., letter to the Times (19 Sept 1885) (19 s11f)

The Field Lane Story (1961)(L49.1 Pam 9316)

The Field Lane Institute 40th Annual Report (L49.1 Pam 4422)

The London Boys' Home (1880) (L 49.1 Fo Pam 1076)

1.15 Hertfordshire Record Office

Essex Industrial School (QS Misc 48)

Letter from J.Brittain Pash to P.N.Dunville 31 May 1879

Opening of new building by Home Secretary Feb 1879

Religious instruction given to boys

2nd - 6th Annual Reports 1873-1877

Memo from W.J. Gillum, Boys Farm Home

22nd Report of the Inspector Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial
Schools (QS misc 48)

Halstead Industrial School (QS Misc 93/13)

Agreement as to the reception and maintenance of female
children

North London Truant School/Industrial School/Northcott (Acc 2914
unregistered)

Administrative Records

General committee minutes 4v 1884-1931

Annual reports 1 bdl 1884-36

Regulations lv 1916

General rules 1924

Declaration of Trust 1 bdl Oct 1892

Memorandum as to the draft Declaration of Trust and
Agreement 1903 41(Box 1)

Log Books 1913-1920

Journal Statement of Account 1924-37;

Cash Book 1925-1937

Miscellaneous - Results of psychological survey of boys at
the school by Child Guidance Clinic and covering
letter (1931)

Correspondence - copies of miscellaneous correspondence
1924-43 including history of the school

Pupil Records

School register 11 vol. No. 1885 -April 1940

Admission Registers 3 vols Sept 1891 - 1954

Incidental returns monthly return - lists names of those
admitted, re-admitted, discharged or missing 1 vol. Jul
1884-Feb 1908

After care returns (only files) 1926-35

Discharge and licence record - 1 vol. 1915-27

Medical Record 1 vol. 1928-March 1938

Daily register

29th March 1931 - March 48 March 1931 - March 1944

Register of approved school cases

3 vol. Jan 1926-1974 (HSS4/2)

Jan 1929 - Jul 1945 (HSSE/2/1)

1.16 Institute of Education Library

First Report of the London School Board (1871)

London School Board Election Committee Papers 1882 1-9

1.17 Islington Central Library

Morgan, T.D., copy letter to Headmaster Highbury Council
School (1 Nov 1955)

1.18 Kent Record Office

Admissions Registers (C/ST 1/1-7)

Reports (C/ST 2/1-6)

Accounts (C/ST 3/1-10)

After care (C/ST 4/1-5)

Industrial Schools Committee (Q/GCs 1-5)

1.20 Kirkgate Centre Museum - Cockermouth

Jonah Todhunter *Memories of a Cockermouth All Saints National
School Scholar (1904-1948)* (c1994)

1.19 Leeds University - Museum of History of Education

Clark Collection

1.20 Leeds City Council - Central Library

Leeds Ragged & Industrial Schools

A few plain facts about the Leeds Ragged & Certified
Industrial School (Leeds 1867) (L377.7 F436)

Annual Reports 2 vols 1860-1909 (L364.722 L517)

Shibden Industrial School

Report of the Home Secretary's communication as to the result of the enquiry into the management of the Shibden Industrial School for Roman Catholic Boys (Leeds 1884) (L 364.722 L517)

1.22 Liverpool University - Education Library and Sydney Jones Library

Fox Col 'Physical Training' *National Physical Training* (Reformatory & Refuge Union 1905) EIX:34)

Liverpool Juvenile Reformatory Association 17th Annual Report 1871 (Ex.9.1871)

Macclesfield Ragged and Industrial School - Annual report 1867(Educ Ex1:25)

Thomson, Mary Horner, *Environment and Efficiency - A Study in the Records of Industrial Schools and Orphanages* (London 1912) (S JL HV 1146 t.48)

1.23 Liverpool Central Library - Record Office

Industrial Schools Committee Minute Book 1879-1903 (353 SCM 5/1-10 5/1-4)

Liverpool Catholic Reformatory Soc. (364 Cat. Acc 931)

Home Office Schools Exhibition Programme Juv. Reformatory Association 1901 (H.364 722 JUV)

School Board Correspondence with the Home Office (H 370 SCH) *Xavarian* Jan 1897 (H.282.2 FRA)

1.24 The London Metropolitan Archives

Education

LCC Inspectors Reports (EO/PA/12/SP)

Dietary at residential schools (EO/SS/1/32-27)

Register of RC Children 1894-15 (EO/SS/2/25)

LCC Education Officers general registers (EO/SS/6)

General Index Ref. and Ind Schools (EO/SS/6/17 & 18)

Discharge and after care register 1867-1909 (EO/SS/7/5-14)

Inspection reports on individual LCC industrial Schools 1898-1925 (EO/SS/8/22)

Discharge and after care registers 1908-1910

LCC Inspectors reports on individual LCC industrial schools 1898-1925 (EO/PS/12/SP)

London School Board (SBL 330-398 1823-37)

Admission of Children (SBL 794)

- Inspectors (SBL 790)
- Final Report of the London School Board (SBL 1350)
- Minutes of the London School Board 1870-1904 (SBL 291-304)
- Reports of the Industrial Schools' Committee 1900-4 (SBL 1575)
- Return of all members of the Board (SBL 1356)
- London County Council
 - Industrial & Reformatory Schools Committee (LCC.MIN.8091-8109)
 - Register of Children at Industrial Schools 1896-1912 (LCC/EO/SS/6/32)
 - Register of Children at Industrial Schools 1912-19 (LCC/EO/SS/6/34)
- Feltham Industrial School (MA/GS/)
 - Accounts
 - Minutes
 - Reports
 - Plans & elevations
 - Registers
 - Report of the Committee of Visitors 1867 (MA/GS/8/1)
- Juvenile Courts 1910 (26D/538)]
- Library - Annual Charities Register and Digest (1882)
- 1.25 Mocatta Library
- Hayes Industrial School (AJ/91)
 - Golden Jubilee
 - Annual Reports 1903-1938
 - Minutes House Committee 1910-1912
 - Medical Records 1930/40
 - Register of pupils 1909-1917
 - Admissions 1901-1941
- 1.26 Public Record Office
- Education Department
 - ED17, ED9, ED14
 - Report on Reformatory and Industrial Schools J.D.Peet 16.11.1918 ED/11/149
- Home Office
 - HO45/9629/A22484 - 1884
 - Letters to Inspectors 1892 (HO45/9838/B10399A)
 - Parkhurst (HO 21, 24, 25)

Grant and Conveyance Church Farm (C54/17846 Pt 10 M29)

1881 Census

St Johns Wood (RG/1731)

St. Marylebone (RG/0143)

Mill Hill St. Margaret's RC Industrial School (RG/1366)

1.27 Sisters of Charity Archives, Mill Hill

St. Joseph's Industrial School, Sheffield (11-72-2)

Register of children who had been confirmed 1893-1924

Discharge & License Record - Indexed 1906-1922

Record of Girls After Discharge 1919-1922

Baptisms

LCC Inspectors Report (1923)

Correspondence

Freshfield Industrial School (11-12-1)

1.28 Society of Friends Library

Newsletter Leominster Orphan's Press no. 4 (Feb 1987)

1.29 Surrey Record Office

The Boys Farm Home (CC89)

Photographs (CC89/1/1-5)

Roll of honour (CC89/2)

Tablet commemoration Martha Bowden matron 1870-1885
(CC89/3)

1.30 Swiss Cottage Library, Camden Town

The Boys' Home - (N4571)

The Budget 1890

Photograph albums

1861 Census

1.31 Vestry House Museum, Waltham Forest Local Studies Dept.

Walthamstow School Board (W58.01 and 2)

Education Committee Records

Minutes, accounts, labour books etc.

1.32 West Yorkshire Archive Service

Leeds School Board (LS/SS)

Certified Industrial Schools Committee 6/1

Leeds Certified Industrial Schools

Log book 1/1

Shadwell Industrial School (Shadwell Children's Centre)(LC/ED)

Admissions Register 1/4

Journal 3/1

Thorp Arch Girls' Industrial School (Thorp Arch Grange) (LC/ED)

Log book/Journal - 1899-1939 - 1/1

Dentist book - 3

Clothing book 1917-1967 - 4

1.33 Whitehaven Record Office

Cumberland Industrial School, Cockermouth (YDS/7)

Report by Charles Ferguson, County Architect on the state of the buildings(1889) (YDS7/1)

Agreement with John Bolton, builder of Cockermouth as to new oven and WCs at the school (1890) (YDS7/2)

Estimate for proposed enlargement of the school farm (undated) (YDS7/3)

Plan of a 'Cornish' boiler for the school National Boiler and General Insurance Co. (undated) (YDS7/4)

Letter Cockermouth UDC as to school water supply, with copy minutes 1881-1886 and agreement with local Board of Health 1886 (1903) (YDS7/5)

Plan for gymnasium and swimming pool at Mossbank (1903) (YDS7/6)

Report and plan by George Dale Oliver, County Architect, as to proposed gymnasium (1904) (YDS7/7)

Correspondence concerning water supply to school, with copy minutes as in no.5, and copy agreement to erection of tank by Local Board of Health on school property 1904 (1906) (YDS7/8)

Correspondence, specification, plans and report as to proposed swimming bath (1907) (YDS7/9)

Tracing plan of suggested alterations at school to provide accommodation for Superintendent (undated) (YDS7/10)

1.34 In Private Hands

The Boys' Farm Home

Correspondence

Minute Books

Admission Records

Annual Reports 1865-1933 (incomplete)

The Flying Leaf 1891, 1893, 1895, 1896, 1898, 1899

Photographs

Insurance specifications

Notes written by Hannah Davies nee Bowden daughter of
master of Boys' Home

The Boys' Home

Correspondence

Receipts

Minutes

Annual Report 1912

The Budget 1890

The Story of the Boys' Home c 1880

Facsimile of original certificate

Facsimile of first minutes

Feltham

G.A.T. Lee, *A History of Feltham Industrial School*
(unpublished c. 1979)

Highbury Industrial School

Letter of appointment to Mr Wood (11.11.1917)

Letter regarding hours and duties of Mr Wood (1917)

Reference for Mr Wood (5.9.1918)

Correspondence - Gillian Gear with

Carleton-Carlos, George, Vermont, Australia; 1991-1995;
researching for Phd on Early institutions in Victoria
Hughes, Hugh, Auckland; 1990/91; whose father taught at
Boys' Farm Home

Llewelyn, H., Chairman Amman Valley History Society;
1994; brought up on Welsh farm which employed old
boys from industrial schools

Page, Julie, New South Wales; 1991; whose grandfather was a
former boy from Boys' Farm Home

Thomas, D.H., Newcastle-upon-Tyne; 1989-1995; family
involved with Industrial Schools

Turner, Mary, late Manchester WEA lecturer; 1988;
researching Manchester reformatory schools

Interviews - Gillian Gear with:

- Crockford, Miss, East Barnet; daughter of Henry Crockford who attended the Boys' Farm Home 1877 (1983 & 1989)
- Cohen, Stanley, second cousin of Morris Cohen, who attended Hayes Industrial School
- Davies, Noel, Weybridge; great grandson of master of Boys' Farm Home, John Bowden (1989/1990)
- Gay, Kylie, Devon; who attended the Cockermouth Industrial School (1996)
- Gillum, J.R., Essendon; great nephew of founder of Boys' Farm Home (1989/1994)
- Glanville, Miss, Hampstead; great grand daughter of George Bell (1993/4)
- Goodey, Frederick, Edgware; attended Boys' Farm Home 1918/19 (1990)
- Shaw, Wyndham; son of Sam Shaw who attended Feltham Industrial School (1992/5)
- Swann, Mrs, Knebworth; grand-daughter of the master of the Boys' Farm Home, John Bowden (1983)

2. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS

2.1 Acts

- 1834 4 & 5 Will Cap LXXVI - The Poor Law Amendment Act
- 1838 1 & 2 Vic Cap LXXXII - An act for establishing a prison for young offenders (the Parkhurst Act)
- 1854 17 & 18 Vic Cap CLXIX - An Act for the provision regulation and maintenance of County Industrial Schools in Middlesex (The Middlesex Industrial Schools Act)
- 1854 17 & 18 Vic Cap LXXXVI - An act for the better care and reformation of young offenders in Great Britain (Reformatory Schools Act)
- 1857 20 & 21 Vic Cap XLVIII - An Act to make better Provision for the Care and Education of vagrant destitute, and disorderly Children and for the Extension of Industrial Schools (Industrial Schools Act)
- 1860 23 & 24 Victoria Cap CVIII - The Industrial Schools Act.
- 1861 24 & 25 Vict Cap CXIII - An Act for amending and consolidating the Law relating to Industrial Schools (Industrial Schools Amendment Act)

- 1862 25 & 26 Vic XLIII - An Act to provide for the Education and Maintenance of Pauper Children in certain Schools and Institutions (Poor Law & Workhouse Schools)
- 1866 29 & 30 Vic Cap CXVIII - Industrial Schools Amendment Act
- 1867 30 & 31 Vic Cap CIVL - The Workshop Regulation Act
- 1870 33 & 34 Vic Cap LXXV - An act to provide for public Elementary Education in England and Wales (The Elementary Education Act)
- 1871 34 & 35 Vic Cap CXII - The Prevention of Crimes Act
- 1876 39 & 40 Vic Cap LXXIX - Elementary Education Act
- 1880 43 & 44 Vic Cap XV - Industrial Schools Amendment Act
- 1885 48 & 49 Vic Cap LXIX - Criminal Law Amendment Act
- 1894 57 & 58 Vic Cap XXXIII - An Act to further amend the Industrial Schools Act 1866 (Industrial Schools Amendment Act)
- 1908 7 & 8 Edw. Cap LXVII The Children Act
- 1918 8 & 9 Geo 5 Cap XXXIX- An act to establish a national system of education
- 1933 23 & 24 Geo.5 Cap XII - Children and Young Persons Act (Approved Schools Act)

2.2 Minutes

- PP 1856 (259) XLVI 399 Committee of Council on Education Minutes - relating to Abandoned classes
- PP 1857-8 (2315) XLVI 377 Committee of Council on Education Minutes
- PP 1861 XLIX.L1 Committee of Council on Education Minutes

2.3 Reports

- PP 1816 (427 497) IV - Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders in the Metropolis
- HL 1819 (32) CVI - Report on the Prisons of the Metropolis
- PP 1847 (447, 534) VII Select Committee of the House of Lords to inquire into the Execution of the Criminal Law, especially respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation.
- PP 1847 (107) VIII - Select Committee on Gaols and Houses of Correction
- PP 1852 (515) VII - Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles
- PP 1852-53 (674, 674-I) XXIII - Select Committee on the Treatment of Criminal and Destitute Children
- PP 1861 (2974-I-VI) XXXI - Select Committee appointed to inquire into the State of Popular Education in England

PP 1861 (460) VII - Select Committee appointed to inquire how far the Education of Destitute and Neglected Children may be most Efficiently and Economically Assisted by any Public Funds

PP 1862 (248) XLIII 453 - Return of all Industrial Schools certified under the Act 24 & 25 Vic c.113

PP 1865 (313) XII - Select Committee on the Middlesex Industrial School Bill

PP 1881 (2808) LIII - To the Secretary of State for the Home Department Relating to the Treatment and Punishment of Juvenile Offenders

PP 1884 (3876 I) XLV.I - Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools

PP 1895 (107) LXXX Report of the Commissioner appointed by the Secretary of State on 24 Sept 1894 to inquire into the allegations made regarding the treatment of children in the St.

John's Industrial School for RC Boys at Walthamstow

PP 1896 (8204) XLV - Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools

PP 1897 (8290) XLIII - Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools

PP 1913(6838, 6839) XXXIX - Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools

PP 1927 (2831) XII - Committee on the Treatment of Young Offenders

2.4 Home Office Reports

Reports of the Inspector of Prisons - Reformatory and Industrial Schools

1st Report	PP 1857-8 (2426) XXIX
2nd Report	PP 1859 (2537 Sess 2) XIII
3rd Report	PP 1860 (2688) XXXV
4th Report	PP 1861 (2874) XXX
5th Report	PP 1862 (3034) XXIV
6th Report	PP 1863 (3193) XXIV
7th Report	PP 1864 (3378) XXVI
8th Report	PP 1865 (3527) XXV
9th Report	PP 1866 (3686) XXXVIII
10th Report	PP 1867 (3889) XXXVI
11th Report	PP 1868 (4066) XXXVI
12th Report	PP 1869 (4183) XXX
13th Report	PP 1870 (170) XXVI

14th Report	PP 1871 (373) XXVIII
15th Report	PP 1872 (628) XXX
16th Report	PP 1873 (817) XXXI
17th Report	PP 1874 (1058) XXVIII
18th Report	PP 1875 (1311) XXXVI
19th Report	PP 1876 (1534) XXXIV
20th Report	PP 1877 (1796) XLII
21st Report	PP 1878 (2117) XLII
22nd Report	PP 1879 (2412) XXXVI.I
23rd Report	PP 1880 (2680) XXXVII.I
24th Report	PP 1881 (3004) LIII.I
25th Report	PP 1882 (3352) XXXV.I
26th Report	PP 1883 (3716) XXXIV.I
27th Report	PP 1884 (4147) XLIV.I 7
28th Report	PP 1884-5 (4505) XXXIX
29th Report	PP 1886 (4813) XXXVI.I
30th Report	PP 1887 (5102) XLII.I
31st Report	PP 1888 (5471) LIX.I
32nd Report	PP 1889 (5829) XLII.I
33rd Report	PP 1890 (6085) XXXVIII.I
34th Report	PP 1890-1 (6477) XLIV.I
35th Report	PP 1892 (6733) XLIII.I
36th Report	PP 1893-4 (7084) XLVIII.I
37th Report	PP 1894 (7481) XLV.I
38th Report	PP 1895 (7820) LVII.I
39th Report	PP 1896 (8184) XLV
40th Report	PP 1897 (8566) XLI.I
41st Report	PP 1898 (8996) XLVIII.I
42nd Report	PP 1899 (9450) XLIV.I
43rd Report	PP 1990 (408) XLIII.I
44th Report	PP 1901 (511) XXXIII & 1902 (840) XLVII
45th Report	PP 1902 (1106) XLVIII & 1902 (1301) XLVIII
46th Report	PP 1903 (1549) XXIX & 1904 (1828) XXXVI
47th Report	PP 1904 (2160) XXXVI & 1905 (2274) XXXVIII
48th Report	PP 1905 (2508) XXXVIII & 1906 (2731) LIII
49th Report	PP 1906 (2935) LIII & 1906 (3170) LIII
50th Report	PP 1907 (3438) XLII & 1908 (3759) LIII
51st Report	PP 1908 (4052) LIII & 1908 (4341) LIII

52nd Report	PP 1909 (4640) XLVI & 1909 (4929) XLVI
53rd Report	PP 1910 (5203) (5406) LVII
54th Report	PP 1911 (5753) (5949) XL
55th Report	PP 1912-13 (6296) (6502) XLVI
56th Report	PP 1914 (7196) XLVII
57th Report	PP 1914-16 (7776) XXXIV
58th Report	PP 1914-16 (8091) XXXIV
59th Report	PP 1916 (8367) XV

Reports of the Children's Branch

- 1st Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1923)
- 2nd Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1924)
- 3rd Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1926)
- 4th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1933)
- 5th Report of the Work of the Children's Branch (Home Office 1938)

2.5 Hansard

Vol. CXXIX 1 August 1853 cols 1099-1108 2nd Reading

Vol. CXXXI 28 Feb - 28 Mar col. 781

Vol CXXXV HL 24.07.1854 cols 578-581

Vol. CXXXVII 2 March 1855- 2 May 1855 cols 1369-1370

Vol. CXLIV 3 Feb - 21 Mar 1857 cols 474-478 - First Reading of
Industrial Schools Bill

Vol. CXLIV 4 March 1857 Second Reading of Industrial Schools Bill

3. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Barnet Press

Hampstead & Highgate Express

Morning Advertiser

Pall Mall Gazette

Quarterly Review

Schoolmaster

Spy

Teachers' Journal

Times

4. BOOKS

4.1 Published before 1933

Archer, T., *The Terrible Sights of London and Labours of Love in the Midst of them* (London 1870)

- Barnett, M.C., *Young Delinquents A Study of Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (London 1913)
- Bell, Edward, *George Bell - A brief memoir* (London 1924)
- Bell, George William, *Recollections of my life* (London 1893)
- Bevan, Revd James, *The Education of Pauper Children Industrially and Otherwise* (Birmingham 1884)
- Briggs, Isaac G., *Reformatory Reform* (London 1924)
- Burt, Cyril, *The Young Delinquent* (London 1931)
- Carpenter, J.E., *The Life & Work of Mary Carpenter* (London 1879)
- Carpenter, Mary, *Reformatory Schools for Children of the perishing and dangerous classes* (London 1851)
- Carpenter, Mary, *Juvenile Delinquents their Condition and Treatment* (London 1853)
- Cooper, Charles Henry, *FSA Memorials of Cambridge* iii 65-6 (Cambridge 1866)
- Cooper, Charles Henry, *FSA Annals of Cambridge* v.23 (Cambridge 1908)
- Corder, Susanna, *The Life of Elizabeth Fry* (London 1893)
- Davenport-Hill, Florence & Fowke, Fanny, *Children of the State* (London 1889)
- DuCane, E.F., *The Punishment & Prevention of Crime* (London 1885)
- Duppa, B., *Industrial Schools for the Peasantry* (London 1837)
- Guthrie, T., *Seed Time & Harvest of Ragged Schools* (Edinburgh 1860)
- Hollingshead, J., *Underground London* (London 1862)
- Hollingshead, J., *Ragged London in 1861* (London 1861)
- Lowe, Clara M.S., *God's Answers: A Record of Miss Annie Macpherson's Work in the Home of Industry Spitalfields London and in Canada* (London 1882)
- Low, Sampson, *The Charities of London* (London 1831)
- Mayhew, H. & Binney, J., *Criminal Prisons of London* (London 1862)
- Montague, C.J., *60 Years in Waifdom or the Ragged School Movement in English History* (London 1904)
- Mowat, Charles Loch, *The Charity Organisation Society 1869-1913* (London 1961)
- Park Row Certified Industrial School* (Bristol 1875)
- Phillpott, H.B., *London at School - The Story of the London School Board 1870-1904* (London 1904)
- Pigott, Revd E.V., *The Preventive and Curative Means of Treating the Young* (Derby 1885)

Spalding, Thomas Alfred, *The Work of the London School Board* (London 1900)

Spielman, M.A., *The Romance of Child Reformation: The London Reformatory and Refuge Union* (London 1921)

Tuckwell, Gertrude, *The State and its Children* (London 1894)

Waifs & Strays Society, *The First Forty Years* (London 1922)

4.2 Published after 1933

Bagot, J.H., *Juvenile Delinquency* (London 1941)

Ball, Nancy, *Her Majesty's Inspectorate* (Birmingham 1963)

Bean, Philip, & Melville, Joy, *Lost Children of the Empire* (London 1989)

Behlmer, George K., *Child Abuse & Moral Reform in England 1870-1908* (Stanford 1982)

Behlmer, George K., *Friends of the Family* (Stanford 1998)

Best, Geoffrey, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* (London 1979)

Boss, Peter, *Social Policy & the Young Delinquent* (London 1967)

Branch Johnson, W., *The English Prison Hulks* (London 1957)

Burnett, John, *Destiny Obscure* (London & Worcester 1982)

Cadbury, Geraldine S., *Young Offenders Yesterday and Today* (London 1938)

Carlebach, J., *Caring for Children in Trouble* (London 1970)

Chandos, John, *Boys Together - English Public Schools 1800-1864* (Oxford 1985)

Chesney, K., *The Victorian Underworld* (London 1970)

Cohen, Stanley and Scull, Andrew ed. *Social Control and the State* (Oxford 1983)

Coldrey, Barry M., *A Most Unenviable Reputation - The Christian Brothers and School Discipline over two Centuries* (Victoria 1991)

Davin, Anna, *Growing Up Poor, Home, School & Street in London 1870-1914* (London 1996)

Drage C., *Two Gun Cohen* (London 1954)

Ferguson, T., *The Young Delinquent in his Social Setting* (London 1952)

Fried, A., & Elman, Richard M. ed. *Charles Booth's London* (London 1969)

Gear, Gillian, 'A Hertfordshire Industrial School' in *Hertfordshire in History* ed. Doris Jones-Baker (Herts. 1991)

Gordon, Peter, *The Victorian School Manager* (London 1974)

Gordon, Rose, *Schools for Young Offenders* (London 1967)

Harrison, Phyllis, *The Home Children* (Winnipeg, Canada 1985)

- Heasman, Kathleen, *Evangelicals in Action* (London 1964)
- Henrick, Henry, *Images of Youth 1880-1920* (London 1990)
- Horn, Pamela, *Labouring Life in the Victorian Countryside* (Bristol 1976)
- Horn, Pamela, *The Victorian Country Child* (Kineton 1974)
- Humphries, S., *Hooligans or Rebels* (Oxford 1981)
- Hurt, J.S., *Outside the Main Stream* (London 1988)
- Hurt, J.S., *Education in Evolution* (London 1971)
- Hurt, J.S., ed. *Childhood, Youth and Education in the late Nineteenth Century* Proceedings of the Annual Conference of the History of Education Society (Leicester 1981)
- Jones, Margaret G., *The Charity School Movement* (Cambridge 1938)
- Levy, Daniel S., *Two Gun Cohen* (New York 1997)
- Lindsay, Jack, *William Morris his Life and Work* (London 1975)
- Maclure, Stuart, *One hundred years of London Education 1870-1970* (London 1970)
- Manton, Jo, *Mary Carpenter and the Children of the Streets* (London 1976)
- Martin, Hugh, ed. *Christian Social Reformers of the 19th Century* (London 1927)
- Middleton, N., *When family failed* (London 1971)
- Millham, S., *Locking up Children* (Farnborough 1978)
- Mitchell, B.R. & Deane, P., *Abstract of British Historical Statistics* (Cambridge 1962)
- Peters, R.S., *Ethics and Education* (London 1978)
- Piper, Ron, *Take Him Away* (Brighton 1995)
- Platt, Anthony Michael, *The Child Savers the invention of delinquency* (Chicago and London 1969)
- Pope-Hennessy, Una, *Charles Dickens* (Edinburgh 1947)
- Priestley, P., *Victorian Prison Lives* (London 1985)
- Prochaska, F.K., *Women and Philanthropy in 19th Century England* (Oxford 1980)
- Rimmer, Joan, *Yesterday's Naughty Children* (Manchester 1986)
- Rose, Gordon Dr., *Schools for Young Offenders* (London 1967)
- Rose, Lionel, *The Erosion of Childhood: Child Oppression in Britain 1860-1918* (London 1991)
- Rubinstein, D., *School Attendance in London 1870-1904* (New York 1969)
- Rudolf, Mildred de. M., *A History of the Church of England Children Society 1921-48* (London 1950)
- Sanders, W.B., *Juvenile Offenders for a Thousand Years* (N. Carolina 1970)

- Saywell, Ruby, *Mary Carpenter of Bristol* (1964)
- Shaw, Samuel, *Guttersnipe* (London 1946)
- Silver, H., *English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850* (London & Boston 1975)
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- Stewart, W.A.C., & McCann, W.P., *The Educational Innovators 1750-1880* (New York 1967)
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